

TRAVELS

INTO

POLAND, RUSSIA, SWEDEN,

AND

DENMARK,

INTERSPERSED WITH HISTORICAL RELATIONS
AND POLITICAL INQUIRIES.

By WILLIAM COXE, A.M. F.R.S.

FELLOW OF KING'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE; AND CHAPLAIN TO HIS
GRACE THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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T. R. A. V. L. S.

FOR AND AGAINST SWEDEN

D. N. M. A. R. S.

BY THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
AND FOR THE



WILLIAM

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T R A V E L S
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B O O K VI.

C H A P. IV.

Rise, progress, and termination of the English trade on the Caspian Sea.—Commerce of the Russians in the same quarter.—Description of the principal ports of the Caspian divided into Russian, Persian, and Tartar.—General exports and imports.—Average value of the trade.—Commerce with the Bucharians and Chinese.

SO early as the 14th century the Venetians and Genoese drew, by means of the Caspian, through Astracan to their settlements at Azof* and Caffa, the Indian, Persian,

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* See Guldenstaedt's *Treatise Von den Hafen am Caspischen Meere*. in *Journ. St. Pet.* for 1777.

The Indian goods were brought, for the most part, through Persia, across the Caspian to Astracan, from thence up the Volga, then by land to the Don, and down that river to Azof.

sian, and Arabian merchandize; with which they thus furnished the south of Europe; the northern part of this continent was supplied likewise through Astracan with the same Asiatic goods by the Russian merchants of Ladoga upon the Volkof, who sent them to their principal store-house at Wisby, an Hanseatick town in the Isle of Gothland. The devastation occasioned by the wars of Tamerlane, about the end of the 14th century, turned this trade from Astracan to Smyrna and Aleppo. The commerce of Arabia, more commodious for those ports, was never brought back to Astracan; but part of the Persian traffick was afterwards restored to its old channel.

Before the conquest of Casan and Astracan, and while these provinces were under the government of the Tartars; the camp, or head quarters of the khan, was a mart for the Russian and Persian merchants. But as this camp, according to the custom of the roving Tartars, was frequently changed, Astracan and Terki * became at length the two principal places of resort. The commerce, however, impeded and frequently interrupted by the numerous banditti, was precarious, until by the conquest of Casan and Astracan, Ivan Vassilievitch II. opened a ready communication between Moscow and the Caspian Sea; and having garrisoned

* Terki was situated near the river Terek, upon the western shore of the Caspian: there are no traces of it now remaining, as the spot upon which it stood is covered with the sea.

garrisoned Astracan with troops, rendered it a rendezvous for the merchants trading to these parts, and the chief depository of their several commodities. This conquest being completed in the year 1554, soon after the discovery of Archangel, the English, who had settled a regular factory at Moscow, obtained the tzar's permission to pass through his dominions into Persia, and to carry on an exclusive trade over the Caspian.

Jenkinson was the first Englishman who navigated that sea. In 1558 he landed at Mangushlak upon the Eastern shore, passed by land through the country of the Turkoman Tartars to Boghara, capital of Great Bucharia, and returned to Moscow the following year. In 1561 he again sailed over the Caspian; and, proceeding to the coast of Shirvan, went by land to Casbin, the residence of the sophy; from whom he obtained for the English a permission of trading into Persia. Several merchants followed his example. The last expedition was made, in 1597, by Christopher Burroughs, whose ship being, in its return, hemmed in by the ice in the mouth of the Volga, and shattered to pieces, he and his crew escaped with difficulty, and arrived at Astracan after many dangers*. During these expeditions the traffick was chiefly carried on to the ports of Tumen, Derbent, Baku, and the coasts of Ghilan.

The disasters which attended the last voyage of Burroughs, the number of banditti who

* See Hackluyt, p. 324—430. S. R. G. VIII. 426—473.

who frequented the shores of the Caspian, and the wars between the Turks and Persians, obstructed the infant commerce; and no English vessel appeared upon this sea for above a century and an half. At length, in 1741, the British merchants of St. Petersburg, at the persuasion of captain Elton, an Englishman in the Russian service, renewed their commerce upon the Caspian; and established a factory at Reshd, in the province of Ghilan. Some disputes unfortunately arising, as well between the English themselves, as between the Russians and captain Elton; the latter entered into the service of Kouli Khan, and assisted the sophy in constructing some vessels upon the Caspian sea. This circumstance gave umbrage to the court of Petersburg; and Elizabeth, in 1746, withdrew the permission which she had granted to the English merchants, of passing through her dominions for the Caspian commerce. Upon the death of Nadir Shah, in 1747, who, in consequence of captain Elton's influence, had permitted the English to trade to Persia, their factory was pillaged by one of the pretenders to the throne of that kingdom, and their commerce in those parts was totally annihilated*.

Having

* See Hanway's British trade over the Caspian Sea, in his Travels, Vol. I. and II. and Chap. XXXIII. in the second volume of Cooke's Travels through the Russian Empire to Persia. Both these accounts, however contradictory to each other, sufficiently prove the unfortunate misunderstandings which had arisen between the English who engaged in this trade.

Having thus sketched the origin and progress of the English commerce upon the Caspian, I shall now consider that of the Russians, who pursued with perseverance the track which our merchants had opened for them: their trade over the Caspian sea was not inconsiderable, and would have been pushed still further, if the caravans, in their journey to and from Astracan, had not been frequently pillaged by the roving Cossacs*.

The commercial intercourse between Persia and Russia was still further enlarged and extended under Boris Godunof†, who formed an alliance with the sophy Shah-Abbas the Great, which would have been extremely advantageous if the civil wars had not taken place: and though, under Michael Feodorovitch, these commotions subsided, and the commerce was renewed; yet it was so frequently interrupted by the Tartar banditti and pirates, as to become exceedingly precarious.

Alexey Michaelovitch having curbed the Cossacs, and rendered the roads more secure, Astracan became again the center of the Persian trade; to which place merchants from Bucharia, Crim Tartary, Armenia, Persia, and even India, resorted. That sovereign turned his attention to the commerce of the Caspian; and as the vessels of the Russians were rudely framed, without decks, and of course exposed to constant shipwrecks‡, he drew from Amsterdam several ship-builders, for the purpose

* S. R. G. VII. 489.

† Ib. 490.

‡ Ib. p. 499.

purpose of constructing vessels more calculated to weather the storms of this sea : but these designs were frustrated by the rebellion of the Cossacs of the Don, under the command of Stenko Rasin*.

The trade of Russia in those parts was so entirely annihilated by the devastations of these Cossacs, that, upon the quelling of the revolt, and the punishment of their leader, the greatest part of it fell almost entirely into the hands of the Armenian merchants established in Astracan, who settled factories both in the Russian and Persian territories†.

During this whole period the Russian and Armenian traders seem to have penetrated no farther than Niezabad, a port between Derbent and Baku ; and their chief settlement was at Shamakee, capital of Shirvan, until, in 1711, that town was taken by the Lefgees, and their factory pillaged and destroyed.

Towards the latter end of Peter's reign, this commerce was again renewed on the following occasion : that monarch having marched a considerable army into Persia, took possession of the provinces of Dagestan, Shirvan, Ghilan, and Masanderan, a tract of country which comprises all the Eastern and Southern coasts of the Caspian ; and these provinces were formerly ceded to Russia in 1723. Soon after this cession, the emperor having obtained all the necessary information

* Busching IX. 80—88. For an account of Stenko Rasin, see Schmidt. Ruf. Gef. vol. II. p. 32. Motley's History of Catharine, vol. I. p. 227.

† S. R. G. VII. p. 505.

tion relating to the ports of that sea, and the productions of the neighbouring countries, established a Russian company trading to the Caspian : the low state of which will sufficiently appear from this circumstance, that its whole capital consisted only of 400 shares, of the value of £30 each. The chief settlements were formed at Astracan and Kassar, from which places the whole traffick was carried on by sea.

The possession of these distant provinces proved so expensive, and of such little advantage to the Russians, that the empress Anne was induced, in 1732 and 1735, to restore them to the sophy * upon the following conditions : that the Russian merchants should have the liberty of trading to all the havens of the Caspian without paying any duty ; that they should be allowed to build houses and magazines wherever it was most convenient ; that they should be in no wise subject to the laws of the country ; and that all goods saved from the wrecks of their vessels should be delivered to the Russians†.

The privileges of this company were confirmed by Anne and Elizabeth ; but the commerce languished and was inconsiderable until the reign of the present empress, who, in 1762, abolished the exclusive right, and permitted all her subjects to trade to Persia ; prohibiting, on account of the numerous banditti who infest the roads, the inland traffick from Kassar, and the other Caspian ports

* S. R. G. L. p. 154. &c.

† Guldenstaedt.

ports to Shamakee, where the factory was formerly established. Two Russian consuls reside at Baku and Einzellee*. These regulations, however productive of general advantage to the commerce, cannot prevent the contraband trade which is carried on at Shamakee, and the other inland towns of Persia, by the Armenian merchants, who, from the knowledge of the country and the language, gain ready admission, and undersell the Russians.

Astracan, situated upon an island in one of the branches of the Volga, may be considered as the great staple of the Caspian commerce; and, by means of that river, is readily supplied with European merchandize from the ports of the Baltick†. Although Astracan is only in the 47th degree of latitude, yet the cold is extremely intense in winter; and for two months the Volga is generally frozen so hard as to be passed over by heavy-laden sledges‡. Large tracts of forest grow upon the banks of that river in the province of Casan, and furnish sufficient oak and timber for the construction of vessels for the Caspian sea.

The Caspian is about 680 miles in length, reckoning from Gurieff to Medshetisar; and in no part more than 260 miles in breadth. It has no tide; and, on account of its frequent shoals, is navigable only by vessels drawing from 9 to 10 feet water: it has strong currents; and, like all inland seas, is subject to

* Guldenstaedt, p. 248.

† Hanway, p. 141.

‡ Gmelin, vol. II. p. 84.

to violent storms*, which the Russian vessels, wretchedly constructed, weather with difficulty. Its waters are brackish.

The fishery of the Caspian deserves to be mentioned, because it is a nursery for sailors. The Uralian Cossacs enjoy the right of fishing upon the coasts 47 miles on each side of the river Ural; and the inhabitants of Astracan possess the exclusive privilege upon the remaining shores belonging to Russia. The roe of sturgeons and beluga supply large quantities of caviare; and the fish which are chiefly salted and dried form a considerable article of consumption in the Russian empire. The Caspian abounds with sea-dogs, which are hunted and caught in great numbers†.

We shall be able to ascertain with tolerable exactness the present state of the commerce in the Caspian sea, by considering the principal havens, and the imports and exports.

The coasts of the Caspian being in the possession of the Russians, Persians, and Tartars, the ports may be divided into,

I. Russian. II. Persian. III. Tartar.

I. The Russian ports and trading places upon the Caspian are, 1. Gurief; 2. Kislar.

1. Gurief is situated upon the mouth of the Yaik or Ural, at a little distance from a bay of the Caspian: it is a small, but strong fortress, which guards the frontiers of the Russian

* Hanway, vol. I. p. 393.

† Journ. St. Pet. p. 253; S. R. G. VII. p. 525. For a list of the Fish in the Caspian, see Gmelin, vol. II. p. 246.

Russian empire towards the territory of the Kirghees Tartars. The place contains scarcely an hundred houses; and, except the garrison, has no inhabitants but a few merchants from Astracan, who drive an inconsiderable trade with the neighbouring Tartars*.

2. The fortress of Kislar stands near the Eastern coast, and covers the frontiers towards the limits of Persia. Vessels bound for this place formerly entered the Southern branch of the Terek; but as the mouths of that river are now choaked up, the merchandize is landed in a small bay about the distance of 34 miles from the fortress. Kislar draws from Astracan the European commodities necessary for the Persian traffick, and also a large quantity of corn and provision for the Russian colonies upon the Terek, and for the inhabitants of the neighbouring chain of Mount Caucasus. Beside the goods which are disposed of at Kislar, and sent from thence to the Persian ports, the inhabitants carry on a contraband trade to Shamakee, Derbent, and even Tiflis in Georgia, which is exceedingly precarious from the numerous banditti who pillage the caravans.

II. Before I enumerate the principal Persian havens, it would be necessary to acquaint the reader to whom belong the provinces of Shirvan, Ghilan, Masanderan, and Astrabad, in which countries the ports resorted to by the Russians are situated; if, in the present unsettled state of Persia, and the civil wars

* Pallas Reise I. 424, &c.

wars which continue to harrafs that divided empire, it were possible to ascertain that point. In general, the above-mentioned provinces are governed by their own khans, who, though tributary to the sophy, render themselves occasionally independent whenever a favourable opportunity offers : continually at variance, and frequently at war with each other, their governments are the seat of almost perpetual hostility, rapine, and devastation. Meanwhile, the trade flourishes or diminishes in proportion as the exactions of the sovereigns are more or less frequent and exorbitant.

The Persian havens are as follow :

1. Derbent is the worst port in the Caspian, if it may be called a port, where vessels can seldom approach the shore, on account of sands and shoals, but are generally obliged to lye at anchor at the distance of at least three quarters of a mile : from this circumstance, joined to the inconsiderable degree of commerce carried on with the inhabitants, it is at present but little frequented. Derbent*, which stands in the province of Shirvan,

* " This city of Derbent is an antient towne, having an
 " olde castle therein, situated upon an hill called Castow,
 " builded all of free-stone much after our building, the
 " walles very high and thicke, and was first erected by king
 " Alexander the Great, when he warred against the Persians
 " and Medians, and then hee made a wall of a woonderfull
 " height and thicknesse, extending from the same city to the
 " Georgians, yea, unto the principal city thereof, named
 " Tewfish ; which wall, though it be now rased, or other-
 " wise decayed, yet the foundation remaineth, and the wall
 " was made to the intent that the inhabitants of that coun-
 " try, then newly conquered by the said Alexander, should
 " not lightly flee, nor his enemies easily invade." Hackluyt,
 vol. I. p. 345.

van, is a Persian fortress, surrounded by high brick walls : the inhabitants are chiefly Persians, Tartars, and a few Armenians. Two or three Russian ships are annually bound for Derbent ; they are usually laden with oats and rye ; and they carry iron, steel, and lead for the Lesgees and other Tartar nations, who inhabit the Eastern chain of the Caucasus. The neighbourhood of Derbent produces some corn ; but not sufficient for the consumption of the place.

2. Niesovaia Pristan, or Niezabad, must be mentioned, because it was formerly the port most frequented by the Russians ; this place was chiefly visited by the merchants of Shamakee, who then supplied the province of Shirvan with European commodities : near the harbour are several wretched villages.

3. Baku is esteemed the most commodious haven in this sea, as vessels may there ride securely at anchor in seven fathom water ; but the number of shoals, islands, and sandbanks, render the entrance in some places extremely difficult and dangerous, particularly to the Russians, who are not very expert sailors. Baku is a fortress surrounded with high brick walls ; its inhabitants, like those of Derbent, are Persians, Tartars, and a few Armenian merchants. The principal articles of exportation which support the trade of this place are naphta, and the finest rock salt, of both which there are mines on the east side of the bay. The inhabitants cultivate saffron and the cotton-tree, but not to any considerable advantage. The trade of
Baku,

Baku, though more valuable than that of Derbent, is still inconsiderable, and chiefly carried on with Shamakee, from whence it draws raw silk and filken stuffs. A Russian consul is resident at this place. In 1777 Baku* belonged to Melik-Mehmed, who was tributary to Feth Ali, khan of Kuba: the latter possessed the whole province of Shirvan, and was the most powerful prince next, to the khan of Ghilan, upon the coast of the Caspian.

Before we quit the province of Shirvan, it may not be improper to mention its capital, the inland town of Shamakee, which is only 66 miles from Baku, and supplies that port with raw silk and filken stuffs. It owed its former commercial importance to the silk which is cultivated in the neighbouring district; this rich production still preserves the town from ruin; though its traffick is greatly reduced by the exorbitant exactions of the khan of Kuba. Formerly the Russians had a factory at this place; and it was also crowded with Turkish and Greek merchants: but at present there are only a few Armenian and Indian traders. The inhabitants manufacture silk and cotton stuffs; but far inferior to those made at this place in the beginning of the present century. The silk of this province is exported into the interior part of Persia, Turkey, Georgia, and Russia. Shamakee still supplies part of Georgia, and the inhabitants of the Eastern chain of Mount Caucasus,

* Gmelin, vol. III. p. 52, &c. Guldensædt.

Caucasus, with European commodities, principally by means of the traffick with Baku, and the contraband trade with the Armenians and Russians*.

As Sallian is now no longer resorted to on account of the rocks, I hasten to,

4. Einzellee, which, though a wretched village, is the most frequented for the Persian commerce: formerly the vessels entered through the channel into a bay; but, as this bay is choaked up, they are obliged to lye at anchor in the road. Einzellee is situated on the south western coast, a few miles north of Reshd, capital of the province of Ghilan: it consists of two parts, Old and New Einzellee; the former is inhabited by the Persians and Armenians, under the jurisdiction of the sophy; the latter, by the Russian merchants, and those Armenians who are subject to the empress: a garrison of thirty Russian soldiers is there stationed under the command of the consul. It contains a Russian and Armenian church, and about 300 houses, which are mostly built with reed. The refuse only of the Persian and European commodities is exposed to sale at Einzellee; the great mart being at Reshd, where the Russians have erected booths, and to which place a conflux of merchants from Tauris, the principal cities of Persia, Armenia, and even Turkey resort, in order to purchase the raw silk and manufactures of Ghilan. Hence the Russians dispose of their European commodities

* Gmelin, vol. III. p. 60, &c.

modities to considerable advantage ; and obtain in return the productions of this rich province.

The manufactures * and silk of Ghilan, which is esteemed the best in Persia, have been in such repute for these last fifty years, that Reshd is become one of the first commercial towns in this part of Asia. The finest sort is usually white, and is chiefly sent into the interior cities of Persia, or sold to the Turks. The inferior kind is yellow, and is chiefly disposed of to the Russians. There is such a constant demand for the silk of Ghilan†, that the price rises every year.

Reshd supplies the bordering provinces of Persia, and the independent neighbouring states as far as Georgia, with European merchandize, excepting the goods which are transported immediately from Astracan, through Kislar and Mostok, to the nearest parts of Georgia, and of the neighbouring mountains ; and those which are sent from Shamakee, to the Lesgees Tartars and other independent tribes‡.

5. Farabat, and, 6. Medshetisar, are situated upon the southern coast in the province of Masanderan ; they are both small villages, of which the latter is the most commercial from its vicinity to Balfrusch, capital of the province, where the Russians and Armenians carry their merchandize : the traffick, how-

VOL. III. C ever,

* See, In Gmelin, vol. III. p. 415. a list of the manufactures of Ghilan.

† For an account of the silk of Ghilan, see Gmelin, vol. III. p. 412. Hanway, vol. II. p. 16. S. R. G. VII. p. 515.

‡ Gmelin, III. p. 414.

ever, is much less considerable than it was formerly, which circumstance is owing to the impositions of the khan of Masanderan. The chief productions of this country are silk, far inferior to that of Ghilan, and rice and cotton, of both which articles there is a large exportation. Merchants from Kaskan, Ispahan, Schirafs, Khorasan, &c. resort to Balfrusch, and bring for sale the Persian and Indian commodities*.

7. The bay of Astrabad, where the Russians land and proceed to the capital of that name: the productions of this province, and its exports and imports, are nearly similar to those of Masanderan. The commerce of Astrabad is chiefly with Candahar.

III. The Tartar havens are, 1. The Bay of Balkan; and, 2. Mangushlak, both of which, but particularly the latter, afford a secure harbour.

1. The Russians frequent the islands in the bay of Balkan; inhabited chiefly by pirates of the race of Turkoman Tartars: these islands produce rice and cotton, and one of them, called Naphthoria, abounds in naphta. This traffick might be increased to the advantage of Russia, as it would be far more commodious to trade with the Tartars of Khiva and Bucharja from these parts, than from Orenburgh through the country of the warlike and independent Kirghees.

2. The commerce of Mangushlak is by far the most considerable: the neighbouring Tartars bring to this place the productions of their

* Gmelin, III. p. 459.

their own country, and even of Bucharia, such as cotton, yarn, and stuffs, furs and skins, and rhubarb†.

The principal commodities exported from Astracan to the ports of the Caspian sea, are cloths, chiefly English, Dutch, French, and Silesian; vitriol, soap, allum, sugar, Russia leather, needles, coarse linen manufactured in Russia, velvets, glass ware and looking glasses, writing paper, a few furs and skins, a small quantity of tea, provisions, chiefly corn and butter, wine, brandy, wooden furniture, sea-horse teeth, also iron, brass, tin, lead, hardware, watches, &c. &c. In 1775, the value of the cloths exported amounted to £52,600; the cochineal to £45,600; and the indigo to £7,000.

Imports. Raw and manufactured silks, but chiefly the former, from the provinces of Shirvan and Ghilan; which article, in 1775, amounted to £43,800. Bucharian lamb-skins, rice, dried fruit, spices and drugs, saffron, salt, sulphur, and naphta. The Indians and merchants of Khiva bring occasionally to Astracan gold and silver in bars, gold-dust, precious stones and pearls*.

The trade of the Caspian sea had considerably declined before the accession of the present empress; but by the abolition of monopolies, and by various other useful regulations,

C 2

tions,

† Guldenstaedt, p. 265—267.

* Such was the general trade of the Caspian trade when I was in Russia; but it will be rendered still more secure and profitable to the Russians, if it be true as reported, that the empress has concluded a treaty of amity and commerce with the present sophy of Persia, Aly Murad-khan, whom she assisted against his competitors for the throne. According to this account, the troubles at Persia have, in a great measure, subsided; the sophy has sent an ambassador to Petersburg to ratify the treaty of commerce; has increased the privileges of the Russian merchants, who have already begun to open a more extensive commerce with the interior parts of Persia, Armenia, and the adjacent districts of Asia. See Ham. Pol. Journ. for 1782, P. I. for 1783, p. 195.

tions, it has lately increased to such a degree, that within the space of fifteen years the average sum of the exports and imports has been nearly tripled, as will appear from comparing the following tables.

	Exports	Imports	Total exps. & imps.
1768,	£36,100	42,100	£78,200
Balance against Russia		6,000	
1768,	£87,700	63,700	£151,400
Balance in favour of Russia		24,000	
1775,	£125,400	64,120	£189,520
Balance in favour of Russia		61,280	
Traffick with Georgia and the natives of Caucasus			£10,000
Total in 1775			£199,520

The contraband trade is not included in this calculation*.

* The reader who wishes to trace the rise, progress, and present state of the commerce upon the Caspian sea, must consult and compare Hackluyt's Collection of Voyages, vol. I. p. 324 to 431; Hanway's British Trade of the Caspian Sea; Cooke's Travels; S. R. G. VII. 103—546; Gmelin's Reise, vol. III. and Guldenstaedt's Treatise mentioned above.

Commerce

Commerce with the Bucharrians and Chinese.

Under the commerce with the Bucharrians
 * I comprife that which the Ruffians carry on with the Calmucs and other Tartar nations beyond the frontiers of Siberia, becaufe the latter is of fuch little importance as fcarcely to deferve a feparate article.

The Bucharrians, who inhabit the fouth-western part of Independent Tartary, are a very commercial people; their caravans travel through the whole continent of Asia †, and traffick with Thibet and China, India, Perfia, and Ruffia. This empire contains feveral colonies of the Bucharrians, who are fettled in many large towns of the fouthern provinces; and who maintain a conflant communication with the merchants of their own country. Their principal marts are Tomfk, Kiacta, and Orenburgh; the latter of which is the moft confiderable, and chiefly trades with Kafkar, Tafhkent, and Khiva ‡. Their caravans in their way to thefe towns are expofed to pillage from the Kirgees Tartars, through whofe country they are obliged to pafs. Their imports are gold and filver, chiefly in Perfian coins and Indian rupees, gold duft §, precious

* Having before mentioned the commerce with the Bucharrians upon the Eastern coasts of the Caspian, it is needless to enter upon any further detail of it in this place.

† S. R. G. VII. p. 7.

‡ Rytskof Orenb. Top. vol. I. p. 263.

§ This gold-duft is found in the fand of the rivers of Bucharria. The procuring of this commodity was the principal

precious stones, particularly rubies, lapis-lazuli, spun and raw cotton, cotton stuffs in great abundance both Indian and Bucharian, half-silks, unprepared nitre, native sal-ammoniac, lamb-skins, raw silk in small quantities, and rhubarb, large herds of sheep and horses*. Exports. Cloth, Russian leather, beads and trinkets, hard-ware, indigo, cochineal, &c.

The Chinese trade is by far the most important part of its Asiatick commerce, and is now carried on at Kiakta, situated upon the frontiers of the Chinese and Russian empires. But having in a former publication † given a circumstantial account of this commerce, it will be sufficient to observe in this place, that in 1777, the total sum of importation and exportation, as entered at the custom-house, amounted to £573,666 15s.; but if we include the contraband trade, which is very considerable, and make an allowance for the deficiencies of the above-mentioned year, which was not so favourable as the preceding ones, we may fairly estimate the gross amount of the average trade to China, in exports and imports, at near £800,000 sterling.

principal inducement to the first expeditions of the English merchants over the Caspian into Bucharina, which are related in Hackluyt's Collection. Peter the Great sent several Russian merchants into the country for the same purpose. See S. R. G. IV. p. 183, &c. Rytzkof, vol. I. p. 263. Russia Illustrated, vol. II. p. 141.

* Pallas Reise, vol. I. p. 232, &c. The sheep and horses are brought for sale by the Kirgees Tartars. Mr. Pallas says, that above 60,000 sheep and 10,000 horses are yearly sold at Orenburgh, p. 234.

† See an account of the transactions and commerce between Russia and China in Russian Discoveries, from p. 197 to 248.

C H A P. V.

On the commerce of the Black Sea.—Havens. Exports and imports.—Ports and territory ceded by the Turks to Russia.—Zaporogian Cossacs.—Abolition of their government.—Productions of the Southern provinces of Russia.—Navigation of the Don and Dnieper.—Attempts of the Russians to prosecute the commerce through the Dardanelles to the Mediterranean.—Frequent interruptions and precarious state of that trade.

PETER the Great was the first sovereign of this empire who attempted to open a commerce through the Sea of Azof and the Euxine, and to export, by that channel, the productions of Southern Russia. By his victories over the Turks, the possession of Azof, and the construction of Taganrog, he seemed on the eve of realizing this favourite project; but all his vast schemes were baffled by the unsuccessful campaign of 1711, which terminated in the peace of Pruth, a peace purchased by the cession of Azof and Taganrog, and by relinquishing the commerce of the Euxine. Since that period the Turks have jealously excluded the Russians from all share in the navigation of their seas, until the present empress finished a successful war against the Porte by the glorious peace of 1774. By this peace Russia obtained a free navigation
in

in all the Turkish seas, a right of passing through the Dardanelles, all the commercial immunities granted to the most favoured nations in amity with the Porte, and the possession of Azof, Taganrog, the three fortresses of Kinburn, Kertsh, and Yenikalè, and a large district between the Bog and the Dnieper.

Many speculations have been entertained concerning the extent and value of the traffick which Russia is likely to establish in the Black Sea, and the revolution which it may effect in the commerce of Europe, by transferring part of the Baltick trade to the ports of the Mediterranean. In consequence of this change, it is asserted, that the southern provinces of this empire will find a vent to export their superfluous productions; the Russian vessels will open a profitable trade with Crim Tartary, with the Austrian provinces at Kilia-Nova, with the Turks at Constantinople, with the Greeks in the Levant; the iron of Siberia, the corn, hemp, and flax of the Ukraine, and the contiguous provinces, will be sent from the havens of the Black Sea, through the Dardanelles, to supply the ports of the Mediterranean; and thus France and Spain will be furnished with naval stores by a cheaper and more expeditious navigation than through the Baltick and the Northern Ocean.

As the completion of this great and extensive project can only be the work of time, and depends on a variety of contingences, we cannot pretend to form any absolute decision upon the probability of its failure or success; but

but a considerable light may be thrown on this intricate subject by an attention to the following objects of inquiry*.

I. The traffick upon the Turkish Seas before the peace, with an account of their havens and exports. II. The ports and territory ceded to Russia, and the new towns since constructed by the empress. III. The productions of the Southern Russian provinces, and the navigation of the rivers Don and Dnieper. IV. The progress hitherto made by the Russians to establish an intercourse between the Black Sea, through the Dardanelles, with the ports of the Mediterranean.

I. The traffick upon the Turkish Seas previous to the peace of 1774, and their havens and exports. This traffick was chiefly carried on by the Greeks, Armenians, and Turks; and as the Russians possessed no port, either upon the Sea of Azof or the Euxine, Tcherkask, capital of the Cossacs of the Don, was the place where the productions of this empire and Turkey were reciprocally exchanged. The Greek and Armenian merchants sailed to Taganrock, where they performed quarantine; and then proceeded with their merchandize, to Tcherkask, having first paid the duty at Temernik, a small village upon the Don, now the fortress of St. Demitri. Tcherkask was also the emporium of an inland commerce between the merchants of Kuban, and

* In this inquiry I have principally followed Guldenstedt's Essay Von der Hafen am Azowschen Schwartzten and Weissen Meere, in Journ. St. Pet. for 1776.

and Crim Tartary and the Russians. The imports were chiefly Greek wines, raisins, dried figs, almonds, oil, rice, saffron, painted linens and cottons. The exports, hides and leather, coarse linen, hard ware, caviare, &c*. The Greek and Armenian merchants, in returning to Constantinople, supplied the ports of the Sea of Azof and the Euxine with Russian and European commodities.

In order to have a general idea of the traffick in the Turkish seas, we must take a cursory view of their havens, imports and exports.

Among the harbours of the Black Sea resorted to by the Greek and Armenian merchants, the most frequented were those of Crim Tartary, namely, Yenikalè, one of the fortresses lately ceded to Russia, Balaklava, Koslof, and Caffa, which merits a particular description. Caffa and the whole peninsula, which were before under the dominion of the Turks, were, by an article in the late peace, declared independent; and subject to a khan, elected by the natives, but confirmed both by the empress and grand-signor: it is the capital of the Crimea, and the Tartars, who consider it as a place of great celebrity and importance, distinguish it by the name of Half Constantinople†. The harbour, which

* See Tarif of the Imported and Exported wares. Bus. Hist. Mag. XI. p. 373.

† Nennen solche di Tartary nur *Jarim Stambul*. Klee-man's Reise von Wien nach Constantinople. See a curious account of Caffa, in that work. The author observed there several ruins of the buildings which the Genoese constructed when

which is very large, is capable of containing several hundred merchant ships; and its inhabitants are the richest and drive the most extensive trade in the Black Sea. The productions of Crim Tartary, exported from Caffa and the other havens of that peninsula, consist chiefly in corn, wine, wool, fine black and grey lamb-skins, and salt. The imports are fine and coarse linens, printed cottons, nankeen, Russian leather, fine cloths, velvets, taffeties, furs, ropes, paper, salted fish, and caviare, tobacco leaves, copper and tin, hardware, gold and silver threads, beads and corals, earthen wares, and a coarse sort of porcelain, glass ware*, &c. &c.

The port of Taman lies opposite to Yenikalè, at the extremity of the straits of Caffa, upon a small island in the mouth of the river Kuban: it is subject to the khan of Crim Tartary, and trafficks with the Circassians from Mount Caucasus, the Cossacs dwelling near the rivers which fall into the Kuban, and the Tartars inhabiting the desert between the Kuban and the Don: the exports are honey, wax, salt, wool, skins of foxes, martens, sheep, &c.: the imports nearly similar to those at Caffa.

The ports of the Eastern and Southern coasts of the Black Sea are situated in the Turkish provinces of Mingrelia, Georgia, and Anatolia: the principal are Poti, where the

when Caffa was in their possession, particularly the remains of the ancient citadel, of churches, of angels and saints grossly carved in stone, and several Latin inscriptions, p. 168, &c. He describes Crim Tartary as a very fruitful country.

¶ Guldenstaedt, p. 12—14.

the merchants of Georgia resort; Trebizond; Cherſon, which is diſtant only ſixty miles from Tokat, at which town the caravans from Perſia aſſemble and ſeparate, in order to proceed by different routes to Smyrna and Conſtantinople; Sinope, the neareſt port upon the Black Sea to Angora, the only place hitherto known that ſupplies the fine goats-hair, generally called camels-hair, from which the beſt camlets are manufactured, and which equal, if not ſurpaſs, thoſe of Bruſſels: this hair, ſpun into yarn, is chiefly purchaſed at Tocat by the merchants of the caravans in their way to Smyrna, from which port Europe is moſtly ſupplied with this commodity. The Greek and Armenian merchants draw from theſe parts honey, wax, ſkins of foxes, of martens, and of ſheep; raw and manufactured ſilk, both Perſian and Turkiſh, cotton, callicoes, rice, ſaffron, dried fruit, &c. They ſupply them in return with Ruſſian and other European productions. Tioſ or Tilioſ, where the Turks have a dock for repairing ſhips, and at which place ſails, cordage, anchors, and other naval ſtores, are advantageouſly diſpoſed of.

The ports on the Weſtern ſhore of the Black Sea, beſide Kinburn, are Varna in Bulgaria, which is diſtant about 100 miles from Adrianople; Kilia-Nova, at the mouth of the Danube in Wallachia; and Akkermen, upon the mouth of the Dnieſter, in Beſſarabia, and about ſixty miles from Bender. Theſe ports furniſh wool, dried fruits, Hungarian and Moldavian wines, buffalo ſkins, &c.

The

The traffick to Varna and Akkermen might be considerably increased by forming a more regular communication with Adrianople and Bender; and that of Kilia-Nova might be rendered highly important, by vending the productions of Austria and Hungary, if the navigation of the Danube was not obstructed by the jealousy of the Turks. The imports of those havens consist in European and Russian productions, for the most part similar to those of Caffa.

Constantinople and Gallipoli are the principal havens in the sea of Marmora: the Russian imports are furs and skins, leather, sail cloth, cordage, anchors, tar and pitch, steel and iron, salt fish, caviare, butter, sea-horse teeth, wax, tea, musk, castor oil, colours, paper, coarse cloth, linen, and corn: the exports to Russia are raw and manufactured silk and cotton, muslins, rich Turkish stuffs and carpets, wool and Angora-goats-hair, Grecian wines, oil, all kinds of European and Asiatick fruit, lemons and oranges, tobacco and snuffs, spices, saffron, opium, and other species of drugs, pearls and precious stones, gold and silver*, &c.

III. The ports and territory ceded to Russia, and the new towns since constructed by the empress. The ceded places are, 1. The district upon the Sea of Azof; 2. Kertsch and Yenikalê, in Crim Tartary; 3. The fortrefs of Kinburn; 4. The territory between the Dnieper and the Bog.

1. The

* Guldenstaedt, p. 21—25.

1. The district bordering upon the Sea of Azof comprises, beside a large tract of territory to the east and west of Azof, the fortresses Azof, Taganrog, and Petrofsk.

Azof is no longer of the same importance as it was in the reign of Peter the Great; the branch of the Don, upon the mouth of which it stands, being now so choaked with sand as scarcely to admit the smallest vessels. The merchandize therefore is usually deposited at Taganrog or Petrofsk; and the frigates and merchant-ships, which were formerly constructed at Azof, are now built either at St. Demitri or Rostof, and pass down the Don into the Sea of Azof, through another branch of that river. As the harbour of Taganrog contains, upon an average, only seven feet of water, the vessels which land there must be constructed in such a manner as to draw no more than five or six feet: the town has been rendered commodious by the construction of several warehouses and other buildings during the late war, and is esteemed for the salubrity of the air.

The fortress of Petrofsk, which stands at the mouth of the river Broda, and commands the Turkish frontiers, was also built during the late war. It is extremely advantageously situated as forming a direct communication with the havens of Crim Tartary; and might easily be rendered more secure than that of Taganrog, from the superior depth of water.

By the possession of these fortresses, the navigation of the Sea of Azof is perfectly secured.

secured. The frontiers of this ceded territory, to the west of that sea, are guarded by a chain of small forts, extending from Petroffk to the Dnieper.

2. The fortresses of Kertsch and Yenikalè, situated upon the eastern coasts of Crim Tartary, and near the northern entrance of the straits of Caffa, are of the greatest importance, by commanding the passage which forms the communication between the Sea of Azof and the Euxine.

3. Kinburn is the only port possessed by the Russians on the coasts of the Black Sea: it stands close to the present frontiers, at the mouth of the Dnieper, opposite to the Turkish fortress Otchakof; the latter, being a place of superior strength, must, while it continues in the hands of the Turks, obstruct, in case of a rupture, the navigation of the Dnieper. Kinburn was intended for the principal depository of the merchandize sent from the provinces bordering upon the Dnieper; but as the harbour, on account of its quicksand, affords no security for anchorage, the new town of Kherson is at present rendered the great emporium of this trade.

4. The possession of the territory between the Bog and the Dnieper opens a secure communication between the Black Sea and those rich and extensive provinces through which the Dnieper takes its course. This important territory, so essential to the existence of the new commerce, was chiefly inhabited by hordes of roving Tartars, and by the Zaporogian Cossacs, who dwelled near the Dnieper,
and

and by their piracies rendered its navigation extremely hazardous. The origin of these Cossacs is thus traced by the Russian historians. In the beginning of the 15th century, a tribe of the Cossacs of the Ukraine, who inhabited the territory between the Bog and the Dnieper, were known under the denomination of Zaporogian*, from their situation near the cataracts of the last mentioned river, where stood their Setcha†, or principal settlement. This setcha was a kind of fortress surrounded with a wooden wall, and was at first merely intended as a place of assembly, where these Cossacs were convened, in order to deliberate upon the method of carrying on their customary depredations, or for the purpose of electing a chief. By degrees it was filled with habitations; and afterwards was appropriated to a separate community of persons, who devoted themselves solely to arms, and totally excluded all women from the precinct of their military residence. The inhabitants were divided into a certain number of classes, each of which elected its respective leader, who were all under the jurisdiction of a supreme chief chosen by the whole society. These Zaporogians Cossacs became so distinguished for their bravery and knowledge of desultory war, that persons, not only from the circumjacent parts, but also from more distant

* Porogi signifies cataracts.

† Setcha means any place surrounded with a wall, or fortification, separated from the neighbouring district. S. R. G. IV. p. 414.

distant regions, flocked to this society of warriors : the inhabitants of the setcha were not obliged to continue in it for any settled term, being only bound, while they remained, to conform themselves to the regulations and discipline of their associates. Whenever any of them were disposed to marry, they were under the necessity of quitting the setcha, but were permitted to settle in the neighbouring district, with the privilege of re-admission, provided they were not attended with their wives and families, whom they were nevertheless allowed occasionally to visit. The Zaporogians increased their numbers by offering an asylum to deserters*, and by forcing and enticing youths and children from the Ukraine and from Poland, whom they trained to a military life, and admitted into their community upon similar conditions, and with the same privileges which they themselves possessed. The place of their residence was occasionally varied : when their numbers increased, or when the hordes wandered at a considerable distance from each other, different parties erected and occupied several distinct setchas.

The first setcha of this extraordinary society seems to have been situated upon an island of the Dnieper below the cataracts : the last which they inhabited, at the final abolition of their government, and which at that period was the only one they possessed, was constructed upon the rivulet Busulak, at

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the point where it falls into the Dnieper in the government of Kioff.

As the members of this community were collected from various nations, and from the nature of their constitution perpetually changing, their number could never be exactly ascertained: Manstein relates, that in the war in which he served against the Turks, they brought 8000 horse into the field; and that, on a emergency, they could at that period have raised 12,000, or 15,000. They frequently performed incredible feats of valour in the campaigns of the Russians against the Turks and Tartars; nor were their services confined solely to land: by their skill in navigating the Dnieper, they occasionally defended the mouth of that river, and attacked with success the armed vessels which appeared upon the contiguous coasts of the Black Sea. But while they were thus formidable to their enemies, they were scarcely less to be dreaded by their allies. Nominally dependent upon the hetman of the Ukraine, they were classed among the subjects of the Russian empire; but the peculiarity of their manners, their separation from all other society, their popular form of government, together with their warlike disposition, rendered them a barbarous and unruly banditti*: accustomed

† Mr. Muller has so accurately and circumstantially described the setcha of the Zaporogian Cossacks, that I would refer the curious reader to his account, from which I have selected this short extract. S. R. G. IV. p. 411-472.

* "Manstein calls them a republic of thieves and vagabonds, who subsist on nothing but rapine both in peace and war.

customed to live by rapine and devastation, they pillaged the Russian merchants who passed through their country; and frequently interrupted the navigation of the Dnieper by continual piracies†.

At the conclusion of the late Turkish war, the empress abolished their form of government, destroyed their setcha, and finally dissolved their formidable confederacy. By this salutary act of power, she has secured the merchants trading in those parts from the dread of perpetual depredations, and put an end to that system of piracy which so greatly obstructed the commerce carried on upon the Dnieper.

III. The Russian countries which are most interested in this commerce, are those that are contiguous to the Dnieper and the Don. This general description comprizes the provinces of Smolensko, Mohilef, Ukraine, New Russia, Bielgorod, Voronetz, Ukraina-Slobodskaia, and Azof: a large tract of territory which furnishes in great abundance every species of grain, hemp, flax, hides, masts, planks, honey, wax, tobacco, &c.

In these ceded districts the empress has already raised several new towns, the principal whereof are Kherson, Catharinenslaf, and Marianopoli.

D 2

Kherson

"war. The court of Russia cannot hinder their continual exursions; nay, is even obliged to keep measures with them for fear of their changing sides." *Manstein's Memoirs* p. 19.

† The boats of these Zaporogians Cossacs were rowed by 50 or 60 men, had no sail, and generally carried two small cannon. S. R. G. IX, p. 5.

Kherfon is situated on the Dnieper, about ten miles below the mouth of the Ingulec, and is chiefly built with hewn stone. It is intended to be the principal mart for all the commodities of export and import; but if an extensive trade should take place in this quarter, the great depository for the merchandize will be more conveniently fixed on some spot below the bar of the Dnieper, and about twelve miles south of Kherfon. It contains a dock for the construction of large vessels; from which several men of war and frigates, as well as merchant-ships, have been already launched.

Catharinenslaf, or the Glory of Catharine, is built near the spot where the small river Kiltzin falls into the Samara, and is appointed to be the capital of the government of Azof; it is colonized by many Greeks and Armenians from Crim Tartary, and by others of those nations who served in the late war against the Turks.

Another town, called Marianopoli, has been also raised upon the borders of the Sea of Azof, between the rivers Myus and Calmius.

These three towns, as well as the numerous villages which have suddenly reared their heads in a country formerly inhabited only by a lawless banditti or traversed by roving hordes, are filled with Russians, with Tartars reclaimed from their wandering life, and with numerous colonists, particularly Greeks and Armenians, who migrated from Crim

Crim Tartary and the adjacent provinces of the Turkish empire.

The navigation of the Don and the Dniéper, which rivers form the communication between those provinces and the Turkish seas, remains to be considered.

The Don* takes its rise from the small lake of St. John, near Tula, in the government of Moscow, and passing through part of the province of Voronetz, a small portion of the Ukraina-Slobodskaia, and the whole province of Azof, divides itself near Tcherkask into three streams, and falls in these separate branches into the Sea of Azof. The river has so many windings, is in many parts so shallow, and abounds with such numerous shoals, as to be scarcely navigable excepting in the spring, upon the melting of the snows; and its mouth is also so choaked up with sand, that only flat-bottomed vessels, excepting in the same season, can pass into the Sea of Azof.

The banks of the Don, and the rivulets which fall into it, are clothed with large tracts of forest, whose timber is floated down the stream to St. Demetri and Rostof, where the frigates for the Sea of Azof are chiefly constructed.

The navigation of the Don may possibly hereafter be rendered highly valuable, by conveying to the Black Sea the iron of Siberia, the Chinese goods, and the Persian merchandize; which latter commodities, as well

as

* S. R. G. IX. p. 11—12.

as the products of India, formerly found their way into Europe through this same channel*.

Since the acquisition of Russian Lithuania, the cession of the district between the Don and the Dnieper, and the total dispersion of the Zaporogian Cossacs, the Dnieper, from its source to its mouth, now flows through the Russian dominions; and through this whole course, of above 800 miles, its navigation is only once interrupted by a series of cataracts†, which begin below the mouth of the Samara, and continue for a space of above 40 miles: they are not, however, so dangerous as they have been represented; for they may be passed in spring, without much hazard, even by loaded barks. In other parts of the year the goods are landed at Kremenisk, opposite the mouth of the Samara, and transported about 40 miles by land to Kitchkase, about 6 miles from the fortress of Alexandrovsk, where they are again embarked, and descend the stream without interruption to Kherston‡. If the trade should increase to a great degree, the cataracts might, at a considerable expence, be rendered navigable at all seasons of the year.

IV. The

* The iron of Siberia, and the merchandize of China, are sometimes sent by an inland navigation to the Volga: the Persian commodities are conveyed across the Caspian to the same river, from thence they might be transported by a land-carriage of only 40 miles to the Don.

† Muller has described these cataracts. S. R. G. IV. p. 411, &c.

‡ See Muller. S. R. G. IX. p. 16; and Guldenstaedt.

IV. The progress hitherto made by the Russians to establish an intercourse between the ports of the Black Sea and those of the Mediterranean.

The empress, in order to encourage her subjects to engage in this branch of traffick, has lessened the duties of import and export†, and has contributed towards forming a Russian house, or company, trading to the Black Sea. Soon after the peace of 1774, four merchant-ships, fitted out for this purpose, sailed from Peterburgh, and not, as might have been expected, from the ports of the Black Sea: they were laden with iron, flax, hemp, hides, sail cloth, and coarse linen, at the sole expence of the empress, who granted all the profits arising from the sale of their cargoes to the said house.

This plan, however, was not attended with the success it seemed to promise; and its failure arose from the jealousy of the Turks. The ships were, under specious pretences, prevented from passing the Dardanelles; the cargoes were sold in the Levant and the Mediterranean; and they returned to the Baltick without having effected the main object of the voyage. Before the Russians could make any further attempts to open this channel of commerce, dissensions took place between the empress and the grand-signor, concerning the independency of the Crimea, and the free election of a khan, which threatened

† See a list of the duties of export and import, in *Russ. Hist. Mag.* XI. p. 373.

ened an immediate war, and suspended all commercial exertions in regard to the Black Sea, until a new pacification was concluded between the two rival powers on the 21st of March, 1779.

Since that period, beside several Greek vessels, which sailed from the Sea of Azof and the Euxine under Russian colours, and were allowed to pass the Dardanelles, a Russian ship, manned with seamen in the service of government, and laden with salted beef, taking its departure in 1780 from Kherfon for the port of Toulon, was allowed to pass the Dardanelles. Soon afterwards five others, freighted with iron, made successful voyages to the Archipelago: also four small vessels, and a fifth of 400 tons just launched, laden with hemp and tobacco, were expected to sail from Kherfon for France, in the month of November, 1781.

Such, in 1711, was the infant state of that commerce, which some authors have described as capable of producing an immediate revolution in the trade of Europe*; and in this,

* “ Catharine II. va donc ouvrir une ancienne route du commerce *le plus vaste & le plus riche*, qui se soit fait sur la terre. Ses ports, dans la mer d’Azow & sur la mer Noire, peuvent devenir le centre de tous les échanges du nord & du midi; & les provinces méridionales de son empire jouiront d’un débouché avantageux & facile, dont elles ont manqué jusqu’ici pour l’écoulement de leurs productions.” *Essai sur le Com. de Russ* p. 109.

“ Concluons que, de quelque manière que la Russie exploite son commerce de la mer Noire, soit par elle-même, soit par le secours des étrangers, son avantage le plus solide & le plus réel doit consister dans un écoulement facile & rapide de ses productions méridionales. Ces productions sont les
“ suifs,

this, or in a still more fluctuating state, it will probably continue, as long as the Turks retain the dominion of their own seas. For that jealous people will either openly oppose, or at least will clandestinely obstruct, the progress of the Russians in those parts; and will never readily give a free passage through the Dardanelles to a powerful rival, though they consented to it in the humiliating peace of

1774.

“suifs, lec cires, les chanvres, le lin, les cordages, les tabacs, le fer & le cuivre. La plus grande partie ne sera plus le tour de l’Europe, pour parvenir en Espagne, en Italie, & dans les ports de la Méditerranée; et le petit nombre des autres formera de nouveaux objets de débit pour ces pays, qui n’ont pas eu jusqu’ici l’usage de s’en fournir, comme le fer & le cuivre,” p. 127.

All these vast projects are in a manner annihilated by the following reflection: “Au reste, les besoins & les facultés d’une nation étant naturellement bornés, le gouvernement Russe devra mettre des limites à ses communications par la mer Noire, afin qu’elles ne prejudicient point à celles de la Baltique. Ces deux commerces doivent se balancer, se combiner sans se nuire, & ils doivent être dirigés de sorte que la prééminence reste toujours attachée au plus ancien,” p. 127, 128.

Many persons are of opinion, that the obstacles to the rising commerce of the Black Sea are by no means injurious to the interests of Russia. For her commodities and productions being articles of necessity, not of luxury, no facility given to their exportation could add to their general consumption; and the increase of exportation from the Black Sea would have diminished that from St. Petersburg, and the other ports of the Baltick, and nearly in the same proportion. By the facility and cheapness of land-carriage, and the improvements of the inland navigation, the productions of the remotest provinces are readily sent to the ports of the Baltick without raising their price too high. And as the goods which Russia produces are either peculiar to this empire, or such as other nations must purchase, they cannot pass through too many hands before they are exported: to diminish therefore, by facilitating their exportation, the price of such goods which she already sells cheaper than other nations, would be to incur a manifold loss, and to gratify the foreign trader at her own expence.

1774. Perhaps these claims, urged on one side, and evaded on the other, will engender perpetual dissentions, and will not be finally terminated but by a series of obstinate and bloody wars. Mean while the trade cannot for a considerable period be extensive, which depends upon such casual circumstances as the coalition and rupture of rival and neighbouring powers.

The course of subsequent events can alone discover, whether the pacification, signed on the 9th of January, 1784, will be more permanent than the former treaties; or whether the same causes will not continue to produce the same effects. In a word, the Russian commerce in those parts can scarcely be established upon a firm basis, until the empress acquires a fleet in the Black Sea superior to that of her rival. And perhaps the completion of this great national object may be effected by the late acquisition of Crim Tartary and the Kuban, rendered highly valuable by an additional extent of sea coast, and the important harbour of Caffa.

C H A P. VI.

Mines of Russia belonging to the crown and to individuals.—Gold and silver.—Copper and iron.—Average profits which government draws from the mines, founderies, and duties upon copper and iron.

THE mines of the Russian empire may be divided into, I. Those which belong to the crown; and, II. Those which are the property of individuals.

I. The former comprize all the gold and silver, and a few copper and iron works.

1. The gold and silver mines are as follow. The most antient gold mine in the Russian empire is that of Voettk, near Olonetz, between the lake Onega and the White Sea. Its chief produce is a violet pyritical copper ore mixed with quartz, and containing rich pieces of gold, but not in sufficient quantity to defray its charges. From 1744 to 1776, this mine yielded only 57 pounds of gold, and about 9,000 pood * of copper; and as the expences amounted to £16,000 more than the profits, it was neglected until 1772, when it was again worked. Since that time it has furnished annually about 250 poods of copper, and about two or three pounds of gold

* A pood = 40 Russian or 36 English pounds. The pound used in this chapter is the Russian, which is to the English as 9 to 10.

gold dust which is washed from the mine, beside accidental pieces that have been found and sent to Petersburg as specimens, and which may amount to five or six pounds more.

2. The next gold mines discovered in the empire were those near Catharinenburg: the ore is very martial, commonly of a cubick form in a quartz matrix; and the gold is extracted by washing. The annual produce of pure gold never exceeded 200 pounds, and was commonly much less: in 1772 it was only 101 pounds.

3. The most important silver mines are those of Kolyvan, between the rivers Oby and Irtysh, near the mountains which form the frontiers of Siberia, and separate that country from the Chinese empire, or rather from the territory of the Calmucs dependent upon the Chinese. These mines were first discovered in 1728, by Akinfi Nikitich Demidof, and were for some years worked by him, for his own private emolument, as copper mines. It is suspected, that he privately extracted the nobler metals, but prudently concealed the secret until 1774; when, in order to prevent its being divulged by other means, he made the discovery to the empress Elizabeth, who appropriated them to the crown*. These mines, situated near Voskresensk, and in the Smeyeskaia Gora, or Mountain of Serpents, are known by the general appellation of Kolyvan, from a village of

* Pallas Reise. P. II. p. 582.

of that name upon the rivulet Bielaia, in the district of Kufnetsz, where the ore was formerly smelted. But as the adjacent country is scantily provided with wood, new founderies have been constructed at Barnaul, Novopauloffk, and Sufunfk, to the north east of Kolyvan, in a district abounding with trees†.

These mines, which may justly be styled the Potosi of the Russians, have produced from 1749 to 1762 from 8,000 to 16,000 pounds of silver; from 1763 to 1769 from 20,000 to 32,000; and since that period to 1778 from 40,000 to 48,000. The silver contains upwards of three per cent. of gold, the separation of which is made in the imperial laboratory within the fortress of Peterburgh. The whole produce ever extracted from the mines amounted, in 1771, to 400,000 pounds of silver, with 12,720 of gold; and since 1771 we may calculate the annual produce at above 44,000 of silver, and about 1200 of gold.

The mines and founderies of Kolyvan employ nearly 40,000 colonists, beside the peasants in the districts of Tomsk and Kufnetz, who, in lieu of paying the poll-tax in money, cut wood, make charcoal, and transport the ore to the founderies. The expences, which were formerly supplied from the treasury, and of course considerably diminished the profit, have, since the year 1765, been absolutely annihilated, and the whole produce of the mines in gold and silver is clear profit.

† Pallas Reise. P. II. p. 579.

profit. In the same year a mint was established at the foundery of Sufunsk, for the coinage of the copper supplied from the mines of Kolyvan, the greatest part of which had been hitherto of no use. Pieces of one, two, five, and ten copecs*, are struck and dispersed over Siberia. Of this currency the sum of £50,000 is annually coined, which is sufficient for reimbursing the poll-tax, paying the miners, transporting the ore, purchasing the lead which must be brought from Nerzhinsk, and defraying the expence of sending the gold and silver as far as Tobolsk. The silver which is smelted in the above-mentioned founderies, is conveyed upon large sledges twice in the year: the first convoy sets off in the beginning of the winter, and reaches Petersburg a little after Christmas; the second in the middle winter, and of arrives there towards spring.

3. The silver mines of Nerzhinsk, which were opened in 1704, are situated in Dauria, the south eastermost part of Siberia, between the rivers Shilka and Argoon, and are very numerous.

Their produce from their first opening to the year 1772 is as follows†.

* A small coin nearly equal to $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

† Bus. Erd.—Bef. Vol. I. p. 1126.

	Pounds of silver.
From 1704 to 1721 . .	4,732
1721 to 1731 . .	1,498
1731 to 1741 . .	1,333
1741 to 1751 . .	15,657
1751 to 1761 . .	43,631
1761 to 1771 . .	126,247
1771	16,733
1772	16,200, which contained 200 pounds of gold.
	226,031

In 1767 they yielded 17,400 pounds ; but the annual average produce may be estimated at 16,000. The silver contains, in 40,000 pounds, nearly 500 of gold, which is separated at Petersburg. The ores being generally very rich in lead, and extremely poor in silver, the latter is easily extracted. Many millions of pounds of lead remain useless upon the spot, only about 14 or 18,000 being annually required for the separation of the silver from the copper at the foundries of Kolyvan ; the carriage into the inner parts of the empire being too expensive ; and the export to China being prohibited.

The number of men employed in these mines and foundries are about 1900 free colonists, between 1000 and 1800 convicts, and 11,000 Russian peasants of the district of Nerzhinsk : 6000 of these latter are employed in cutting and carrying wood, making and transporting charcoal ; while the rest, who live at some distance from the mines, cultivate a certain portion of ground, and bring
in

in winter the produce to the magazines of the founderies. The annual expences may generally be rated at £14,800.

5. Some mines yielding silver have been lately discovered in the district of Krasnoyarsk near the Lena, between the rivers Yins and Yenisei.

The gold of Catharinenburg is obtained at the rate of 40 guineas per pound; and as when coined it produces £68 5s. the profit is not very considerable.

The silver and gold from Kolyvan is procured without any expence, as I have before-mentioned. A pound of silver from Nerzhinsk is said to cost between 16s. and £1; and as the same quantity of this metal, when coined, is equal to 22 roubles 75 copecs and $\frac{1}{2}$, or = about £4 10s. $\frac{1}{2}$ d. the profit is great. The gold extracted from this silver is obtained for £11 8s. per pound.

6. The crown possesses at present but very few copper and iron works.

The iron works in the north part of the district of Olonetz produce annually between 8 or 10,000 poods of cast iron for guns, bombs, and balls; and 15,000 of indifferent iron in bars and plates: those of the Uralian mountains employ above 1700 workmen, and 26,800 peasants; and yielded, in 1772, 423,987 poods of iron in bars and plates, which were chiefly used for the army and navy: that of Kamensk gave in the same year 93,000 poods of iron, which were forged into guns, and 8172 into bars.

Four

Four copper founderies on the west side of the Uralian mountains, in the government of Orenburg, and three in Permia, produced, in 1772, only 13,868 poods of copper.

At Catharinenburgh the crown has established a mint for coining the copper procured from the imperial and private founderies into that species of money which is current throughout Russia, and which is transported by water to Moscow, Peterburgh, and other parts.

II. Private mines and founderies come next under consideration. The greatest part of those mines that supply such an immense quantity of iron and copper, are mostly situated in the Uralian mountains, and the hills stretching from them, a few in the government of Moscow excepted, whose produce is but small.

The Uralian mountains contain 105 founderies, 56 of which are for iron, 37 for copper, and the remainder for both metals. The peasants, part of whom belong to the proprietors, and part to the crown, employed in the mines and founderies, amount to 95,000. In 1772 * these works yielded 130,169 poods of copper, and 4,558,718 of cast iron.

The duty paid to the crown from the private proprietors is 4 copecs, or nearly 2d. for every pood of cast iron, beside 5 copecs upon every pood for exportation.

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With

* We must take this year as the average standard, as being previous to the rebellion of Pugatchef, who destroyed several of the founderies; but most of them have been since re-established.

With respect to the copper, the proprietors are obliged to sell three quarters of the whole produce of the mines to the crown at Catharinenburgh, at the low rate of £1. 2s. per pood†. The remainder they either sell to the crown at the same place, at £1. 14s. per pood; at Moscow, for £2. 2s.; or at Petersburg, for £2. 4s.

At Catharinenburgh copper money to the value of £400,000 is annually coined. The crown receives a pood of this metal, upon an average, at £1. 2s. 6d.; and issues it when struck at £3. 4s.

From these data government appears to gain annually from the mines, and duties upon iron, as follows.

Gain upon the copper coinage at Catharinenburgh	—	£257,625 0
44,000 pounds of silver, and 1,200 of gold, the annual produce of the mines of Kolyvan, when coined, yield	—	282,164 4
16,320 pounds of silver, and 160 of gold, from the mines of Nerzhinsk	—	71,194 8
Government iron works	—	32,529 16
Duty on 4,558,718 poods of cast iron	—	36,469 5
		£679,182 13

The iron and copper are transported by means of the Kosva, Tchusslovaja, Bielaya, and

† By an edict of the empress, dated July 1, 1780, the proprietors, instead of selling three quarters of the copper to the crown at £1. 2s. per pood, are now only obliged to dispose of half at that price: this new regulation must have somewhat reduced the profits of the copper coinage. See Journ. St. Pet. for 1780. p. 53.

and Kama, into the Volga : some of the vessels descend that river, in order to supply with iron the provinces situated along its banks ; but far the greatest numbers are towed up the stream to Nishnei-Novogorod, and Tver, and through the canal of Vishnei-Voloshok to Peterburgh. The vessels, which set out immediately upon the breaking of the frost in the spring, commonly perform this navigation before the end of autumn ; but they sometimes are obliged to winter by the way.

C H A P. VII.

Description of the canal of Vishnei-Voloshok, which unites the Caspian and the Baltick.—Canal of Ladoga.—Project of uniting the Don and the Volga.

THERE is no kingdom, perhaps, in the globe wherein the inland navigation is carried through such an extent of country as in Russia ; for it is possible to convey goods by water 4472 miles from the frontiers of China to Peterburgh, with an interruption only of about 60 miles* ; and from Astracan to the

E 2

same

* Having in a former publication (Russian Discoveries, p. 245.) given a short sketch of the inland navigation from Tobolsk to the frontiers of China, I shall not repeat it here ; but I shall state, in a few words, that from Tobolsk to the Volga. At Tobolsk the barks ascend the Tobol, the Tura, and the Tigil, which rises in the mountains separating Siberia from Europe :

same capital through a tract of 1434 miles, without once landing them.

The water communication between Astracan and Petersburgh, or between the Caspian and the Baltick, is formed by means of the celebrated canal of Vishnèi-Voloshok, which I examined upon the spot, and a description of which I reserved for the present occasion.

This great work, begun and completed under the reign of Peter the Great, has been so considerably improved by order of the present empress, that vessels now reach Petersburgh in less than half the time which they formerly employed.

By examining a map of Russia, we find that the Tvertza joins the Volga at Tver; that the Shlina forms the lake Mastino, which gives rise to the Mastfa: that the latter falls, after a course of about 234 miles, into the lake Ilmen, from which issues the river Volkof, and runs 130 miles to the lake Ladoga, which supplies the Neva: so that, in effect, the Shlina, the Mastfa, the Volkof, and the Neva, may be considered as the same river, flowing into and through different lakes, and only changing its name at various intervals. By uniting, therefore, the Shlina which communicates with the Baltick, with the Tvertza which flows by the Volga into the Caspian, is formed the junction of those two seas. This
junction

Europe: from the Tigil the merchandize is transported across a neck of land of about 52 miles to the Tchuffovaia: there the merchants re-imbark the goods, descend the Tchuffovaia into the Kama, to its junction with the Volga a little above Casan.

junction is made by the canal of Vishnèi-Voloshok, where the Shlina is united to the Tvertza by the following canals and rivulets.

Close to Vishnèi-Voloshok, the Shlina is formed by the confluence of the two rivulets Shlina and Zna; near the latter are the sources of the Tvertza. In order to join the Tvertza and the Zna, the following works were made under Peter the Great.

1. Near the village of Klutshina a cut was dug to the small lake of the same name; a second to the lake of Gorodolub; and a third from thence to the Zna.
2. At the same village, just below the first cut, a lock of four gates was constructed across the Shlina, in order to stop the course of that rivulet; and, by means of the said cuts and lakes, to convey water to the Zna, above Vishnèi-Voloshok.
3. But to keep this supply of water in reserve, and to let as much into the town as is judged necessary, a great lock of seven gates was built across the Zna below the third cut.
4. The Zna and the Tvertza were united by a canal, beginning from the sources of the latter; and at the end of the canal a lock was made.
5. The natural course of the Zna was shut up by two locks in the town, one of which may also serve for a passage.
6. A canal was dug from the Zna to the Shlina, at the end of which is the lock of the Zna.

The several canals are supplied with water, and the vessels are navigated from the Tvertza into the canal of the Zna by the following operation of the locks.

The

The locks of Klutshina, those in the town, and that of the Zna being shut, the lock of the Tvertza is opened, and the waters of the Zna and Shlina are conveyed through the canal of the Tvertza into that river, and the barks pass into the Zna at Vishnèi-Voloshok. When a sufficient number have been admitted, the lock of the Tvertza is shut; and the waters being raised to a certain level (which seldom takes more than two or three days), by means of the lock of seven gates, that of the Zna is opened; and the barks are gradually let down a small fall to the number of about twenty in an hour. At night the lock is shut. If on the following day there is sufficient depth, the barks continue descending through the lock of the Zna; or, if not, they must remain for a day or two until there is a sufficient body of water collected. Having by these means all passed into the Shlina, they proceed, without interruption, through the lake Mastino to the beginning of the Mastta, where a lock has been lately constructed, which holds the waters of this lake in reserve.

By this reservoir the navigation is so greatly facilitated, that the lock of the Zna being shut and that of the Tvertza open, the latter river, which was formerly almost dry during several weeks, is now generally navigable, even in the midst of summer, within two days after the passage of the barks: in spring, the supply of water from the melting of the snows is so considerable, that the locks both
of

of the Tvertza and of the Zna are open at the same time.

With respect to the navigation of the Mastta, several rivulets falling into it are confined by locks, which, being opened successively as the barks are passing, fill the river, and render the shallows navigable; and, being again closed, hold perpetual reservoirs of water for the same purpose: this operation is performed five or six times in the summer. By some other works lately constructed, a considerable addition of water has been obtained; and it is expected, that the Tvertza will become always navigable, and that the lock of the Mastta will only be shut for a short time.

The boats employed on this occasion are towed by ten horses up the Tvertza to Vishnèi-Voloshok, between ten and twelve miles a day; from which place they are rowed as far as Novogorod. Each bark is provided with at least ten men; those which are laden with hemp require twenty-two. At Noshino and Bassatino they change pilots, and take in ten additional men to pass the upper and small cataracts. At Apezenskoi Radok, which stands at the head of the great cataracts, they procure another pilot and two assistants; and, on account of the rapidity of the current, increase their complement generally to sixty men. The fall of the river is 122½ yards perpendicular in twenty miles; and the stream is so violent, that the boats not unfrequently shoot along this space within the hour: but they are sometimes dashed against

against the rocks, or overfet by accident : in the year 1778 above thirty were loft.

From the foot of the great cataracts the pilot of Vishnèi-Voloshok fleers the bark 120 miles further down several shoals, which however have lately been considerably reduced, and almost levelled. In spring the vessels can be allowed to draw $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet water ; in summer only 26 inches. In autumn the navigation from Vishnèi-Voloshok to Peterburgh is performed in little more than a month ; in summer in three weeks ; and in spring only a fortnight is required. In the year 1777, 3485 barks passed through the canal.

The vessels being steered down the Mafta, across the lake Ilmen to Novogorod, descend the Volkof, and enter the Ladoga canal. This canal was begun in 1718, by order of Peter I. and was finished during the reign of the empress Anne : it was carried at first only as far as the small village of Kabona, to a rivulet of the same name, which falls into the lake to the east of Schluffelburgh ; but now reaches, without interruption, from the Volkof to the Neva. Its length is 67 miles and an half ; and its breadth 70 feet. Its mean depth of water in summer is seven, and in spring ten feet. It is supplied by the Volkof and eight rivulets ; the latter, being received into reservoirs, are admitted into the canal by means of flood-gates ; and the superfluous water is discharged through an equal number of openings on the opposite side. The barks enter through the sluices of the Volkof, and go out through those of Schluffelburgh.

In

In 1778, 4927 vessels passed through the canal of Ladoga.

A scheme has been lately projected to form a water communication between the Ladoga and Bielo Ozero to the Duna, in order to unite the White Sea and the Baltick, and to improve the inland commerce between Archangel and Petersburgh. The only part of this plan yet finished is a short cut of about seven miles from the Volkof to the Sjas.

The grand project of uniting the Caspian and the Baltick with the Black Sea by the junction of the Don and the Volga, was planned by Peter the Great. These two rivers approach each other within the distance of 40 miles in the province of Astracan; and the two rivulets Iloffla and Camashinska, the former whereof falls into the Don and the latter into the Volga, are only separated by an interval of about five miles. Could these two rivulets be made navigable and united by a canal, the Black Sea would be joined with the Caspian and the Baltick. With this view Peter I. sent Perry*, an English engineer, to the spot: the canal was begun under his inspection, and a cut was actually made the length of a mile and an half; but the scheme was dropped, from an idea that it was not practicable. Being revived, however, by the present empress, professor Lovitz was entrusted with the execution of it. Having taken a level of the ground between the
Iloffla

* See Perry's State of Russia.

Iloffa and the Camashinska, he traced out the canal, and was preparing to begin the work, when, in 1774, he was wantonly murdered by the impostor Pugatchef. According to the plan of Lovitz, the direct distance between the two rivulets is only five miles; but the great difficulty would consist in deepening their beds, and procuring a supply of water sufficient to render them navigable. The Don, however, being only 40 miles from the Volga, and land-carriage in this country being extremely cheap and easy, it is imagined that the advantages resulting from the projected canal would be scarcely equivalent to the expence of forming it.

C H A P. VIII.

Divine service in the Slavonian and Greek tongue performed by the archbishop of Moscow.—Blessing of the waters.—Publick feast given to the populace.—Its melancholy conclusion.—Description of the vapour-baths.—Departure from Petersburgh.—Journey through Russian Finland.—Sledges.—Mode of travelling.—Wiburgh.—Fredericksham.

THE reader, in the first part of the present chapter, will meet with accounts of various ceremonies and national customs, which will follow each other in an unconnected detail, but which were too curious to be omitted.

During

During our stay at Petersburg, one Sunday morning, about nine o'clock, we, in company with Sir James Harris, had the honour of attending prince Potemkin to the archbishop of Moscow, in order to be present at a Sclavonian and Greek service. This learned prelate, whose name is Plato, received us with great politeness; and, at the close of a short conversation, conducted us into the church. Upon his entrance the choristers began a short hymn*, which they finished as he approached the shrine: having then said a short prayer, he placed himself upon a raised seat in the middle of the church†; and taking off his mandyas, or common garment, the attendant priests kissed his hand while they delivered to him the different parts of the costly pontifical vestments, which, in receiving, he raised to his lips*, before he invested himself with them; he also placed on his head a crown richly ornamented with pearls and precious stones. We were informed that this dress is similar to the imperial robe that was formerly worn by the Greek emperors of Constantinople, and which they permitted the supreme dignitaries of the church to put on at the time of divine service; and the same attire still continues to distinguish the hierarchy of the Greek church established

* "The Lord's name is praised from the rising up of the sun, to the going down of the same." Psalm cxiii. v. 3.

† The bishops alone have the privilege of robing themselves in the middle of the church: the common priests put on their ecclesiastical vestments in the shrine.

* In order to kiss the cross, which is embroidered upon each part of the dress.

established in Russia from the lower orders. The archbishop, being robed, repaired to the shrine within the great folding-doors, and soon afterwards began the celebration of divine worship. Part of the service was performed in the Sclavonian tongue by the different priests, and part by the archbishop in the Greek language, which he pronounced according to the accent of the modern Greeks. In conformity to the rules of the church, no organ, or any other musical instrument, was introduced; but the vocal harmony, which consisted in hymns, was exceedingly pleasing. Lighted tapers and incense seemed no less essential parts of their worship than among the Roman catholics. Towards the conclusion of the prayers the archbishop and clergy retired into the shrine, to receive the communion. The folding-doors were immediately shut, and none of the laity * at that time partook of this rite, but we as strangers were allowed to view what passed through a side-door that had been left open for that purpose. The communicants stood during the ceremony; and the wine was, according to usual custom, mixed with warm water; the bread, which was cut into small pieces, was put into the wine, and the elements of both kinds were given at the same time in a spoon.

The whole service lasted about an hour: the archbishop, having pronounced the final
bene-

* The laity generally receive the sacrament once or twice in the year.

benediction, again seated himself in the middle of the church, divested himself of his pontifical garments, and clothed himself in his common robe. We then followed him to his house, where we found a breakfast, consisting of an eel-pye, a sterlet, red and pickled herrings, and various sorts of *liqueurs* and wines. After enjoying for some time the intelligent and entertaining conversation of the archbishop, who spoke fluently the French tongue, we made our acknowledgments and retired.

Before our departure from the metropolis, we had an opportunity of being present at another religious rite of a more publick nature, the Blessing of the Waters; which was performed on the 6th of January, O. S. though not with its antient pomp and magnificence. This ceremony used to be held upon the Neva, upon which occasion the sovereign attended in person upon the ice, and all the regiments of guards were drawn out in great solemnity. Its pomp, though still splendid, is now much diminished. I shall here describe the principal circumstances which fell under my observation.

Upon the frozen surface of a small canal between the admiralty and the palace was erected an octagon pavilion of wood, painted green, and ornamented with boughs of fir: it was open at the sides, and crowned by a dome, supported by eight pillars. On the top was the figure of St. John with the cross, and four paintings representing some of the miracles of our Saviour: in the inside a carved

ed image of the Holy Spirit under the emblem of a dove was suspended, as is usual in the sanctuaries of the Greek churches. The floor of this edifice was carpetted, excepting a square vacancy in the middle, in which an opening was cut in the ice, and a ladder let down into the water. The pavilion was enclosed by palisadoes adorned with boughs of fir, and the intermediate space also covered with carpets. From one of the windows of the palace a scaffolding was erected, ornamented with red cloth, which reached to the extremity of the canal. At the time appointed the empress appeared at the window of the palace; and the archbishop, who was to perform the benediction, passed at the head of a numerous procession along the scaffolding into the octagon, round which were drawn up a few soldiers of each regiment quartered at Petersburg: after having pronounced a few prayers*, he descended the ladder, plunged a cross into the water, and then sprinkled the colours of each regiment. At the conclusion of this ceremony, the archbishop retired, and the people rushed in crowds into the octagon†, drank with eagerness the water, sprinkled it upon their clothes, and carried some of it away for the purpose of purifying their houses.

On

* The reader will find the ceremonies and prayers used on this occasion in Dr. King's Rites of the Greek Church, p. 386.

† I was informed that some of the populace plunged into the water; and that others dipped their children into it; but as I was not myself witness to these circumstances, I cannot vouch for their truth.

On the 6th of December we were witness to a very singular entertainment given to the publick by a Russian, who had acquired a large fortune by farming, during four years only, the right of vending spirituous liquors. Upon surrendering his contract, he gave, as a proof of his gratitude to the lower class of people, by whom he had enriched himself, a feast in the garden of the summer-palace, which was announced by hand-bills distributed throughout the city. As strangers, desirous of observing the national manners, we did not fail to be present at this carousal, which commenced at two o'clock in the afternoon. Upon our first arrival, we walked round the gardens and examined the preparations. A large semi-circular table was covered with all kinds of provision, piled in different shapes, and in the greatest profusion: Large slices of bread and caviare, dried sturgeon, carp, and other fish, were ranged to a great height in the form of pent-houses and pyramids, and garnished with craw-fish, onions, and pickles. In different parts of the garden were rows of casks full of spirituous liquors, and still larger vessels of wine, beer, and quass. Among the decorations I observed the representation of an immense whale in pasteboard, covered with cloth and gold and silver brocade, and filled in the inside with bread, dried fish, and other provisions.

All sorts of games and diversions were exhibited for the amusement of the populace. At the extremity of the grounds was a large square of ice well swept for the scaters; near which

which were two machines like the swinging vehicles at Bartholomew Fair. One of these machines consisted of two cross-beams fixed horizontally to a pole in the center by means of a pivot: from the ends of the beams hung four sledges, in which the people seated themselves, and were turned round with great velocity: the other had four wooden horses suspended from the beams, and the riders were whirled round in the like manner as their rivals in the sledges. Beyond these were two ice-hills, similar to those which I have described on a former occasion*, and for the same diversion. Two poles, about twenty feet in height, were also erected with colours flying; and at the top of each was placed a piece of money, as a prize for those who could swarm up and seize it. The poles, being rubbed with oil, soon froze in this severe climate: many and tedious were the attempts of the various competitors in this slippery ascent to fame. The scene was lively and gay; for above 40,000 persons of both sexes assembled on the occasion.

Having thus far satisfied our curiosity, we found our way, not without great difficulty, through the croud to a pavilion in the garden, where the master of the feast and several of the nobility were assembled, and were regaled with a cold collation, and various sorts of wine.

It had been preconcerted, that, upon the firing of a rocket, the people were to drink a glass of

* See Vol. II.

of spirituous liquor; and, upon the discharge of a second, to begin the repast. But the impatience of the populace anticipated the necessity of the second signal, and the whole multitude was soon and at once in motion. The whale was the chief object of contention: within the space of a few minutes he was entirely divested of his gaudy trappings, which became the spoils of his successful invaders. They had no sooner fled off his drapery, and secured the fragments of rich brocade, than they rent him into a thousand pieces, in order to seize the provisions with which his inside was stored. The remaining people, who were too numerous to be all engaged in contending about the whale, were employed in uncovering the pent-houses, and pulling down the pyramids; in conveying with one hand provender to their mouths, and with the other to their pockets. Others crowded round the casks and hogsheds, and with great wooden ladles lapped incessantly wine, beer, and spirits.

The confusion and riot, which soon succeeded, is better conceived than described; and we thought it expedient to retire. The evening was closed with a superb illumination of the gardens, and magnificent fire-works.

But the consequences of this feast were indeed dreadful. The cold had suddenly increased with such violence, that Fahrenheit's thermometer, which at mid-day stood only at 4, sunk towards the close of the evening to 15 below freezing point: consequently many intoxicated persons were frozen to death; not

a few fell a sacrifice to drunken quarrels; and others were robbed and murdered in the more retired parts of the city, as they were returning late to their homes. From a comparison of the various reports, we had reason to conclude, that at least 400 persons lost their lives upon this melancholy occasion.

The Russian baths have been described by every traveller who has given to the publick any relation of this country. Instead of transcribing from the accounts of others, I shall relate what fell under my own immediate notice.

In one of the Russian villages we entered a bathing-house, and examined it with as much attention as the extreme heat would permit. It was a wooden building of one room, with small windows like those of the common cottages. Within an old woman was employed in preparing the bath; and as the violent smoke and heat rendered it scarcely possible for us to stay in the room for the space of a minute, we took our station at the door, and observed the process. She first made a fire under an arch of large granite stones about four feet in height, and when they were sufficiently heated, she sprinkled them at different intervals with water, which immediately flew off in vapour. She then took from the fire, by means of two sticks, several small red-hot pebbles, and put them into pails and troughs of water, which acquired thereby different degrees of warmth. In about half an hour three men entered the bath, and, taking off their clothes, remained within, while the old woman continued to throw water upon the arch

arch of stones, which heated the room to a prodigious degree. They then lay down upon a sort of table, and, having lathered their bodies with soap, she rubbed them lightly with a bundle of twigs in full foliage. On account of the excessive heat, we were driven from the door; and soon afterwards the men, having their bodies quite suffused with a deep crimson from the effects of the vapour, rushed out, and instantly plunged themselves into the river.

Another bath which we entered near the convent of Yurief at Novogorod, being larger and more commodious, we were able to remain for some time spectators of the whole process. It was a large wooden building, containing, like that just described, only one room, and was provided with ranges of broad benches, placed like steps one above the other almost to the height of the ceiling. Within were about twenty persons undressed; some were lying upon the benches; some were sitting, others standing; some were washing their bodies with soap; others rubbing themselves with small branches of oak-leaves tied together like a rod; some were pouring hot water upon their heads, others cold water; a few, almost exhausted by the heat, were standing in the open air, or repeatedly plunging into the Volkof*.

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I shall

* Travellers are too apt not to distinguish between the customs of the common people and those of the nobles; often imputing to the latter what is true only of the former. The Abbé de Chappe, in his account of his journey through Siberia, has in many instances been guilty of this absurdity; and the reader is led to conclude from his narrative, that the nobles bathe promiscuously in publick like the common people;

I shall add on this subject the following account communicated to me by an English gentleman at Petersburg, who was ordered to bathe for his health. "The bathing room was
 "small and low, and contained a heap of
 "large stones piled over a fire, and two broad
 "benches, one near the ground, and the
 "other near the cieling. Small buckets of
 "water being occasionally thrown upon the
 "heated stones, filled the room with a hot
 "and suffocating vapour; which, from its
 "tendency to ascend, rendered the upper
 "part much hotter than the lower. Having
 "taken off my clothes, I laid myself down
 "upon the highest bench, while the bathing
 "woman was preparing tubs of hot and cold
 "water, and continued to increase the va-
 "pour in the manner above-mentioned. Hav-
 "ing dipped a branch of twigs into the hot
 "water, she repeatedly sprinkled, and then
 "rubbed with it my whole body. In about
 "half an hour I removed to the lower bench,
 "which

ple; that they are equally addicted to spirituous liquors; and that they are as rude and inelegant in their entertainments and behaviour; the very reverse of which is the fact. The author of the Antidote to his Travels has not failed, with a glow of national patriotism, to censure such indiscriminate accounts. In no one instance has the Abbé been more erroneous than in his description of the baths. After a ludicrous relation of them, he adds, "These baths are in use all over Russia; every inhabitant of this vast tract of land, from
 "the sovereign to the meanest subject, bathes twice a week,
 "and in the same manner. Every individual, even of the
 "smallest fortune, has a private bath in his own house, in
 "which the father, mother, and children sometimes bathe
 "all together." And again, "The baths of the rich differ
 "only from those of the poor people in being more clean." But such shameful misrepresentations scarcely deserve to be mentioned, were it not to expose their falsity.

“ which I found much cooler ; when the bath-
 “ ing-woman lathered me from head to foot
 “ with soap, scrubbed me with flannel for the
 “ space of ten minutes, and throwing severat
 “ buckets of warm water over me till the soap
 “ was entirely washed off, she finally dried
 “ me with napkins. As I put on my clothes
 “ in a room without a fire, I had an oppor-
 “ tunity of remarking, that the cold air had
 “ little effect on my body, though in so heat-
 “ ed a state ; for while I was dressing I felt a
 “ glow of warmth which continued during
 “ the whole night. This circumstance con-
 “ vinced me, that, when the natives rush
 “ from the vapour-baths into the river, or even
 “ roll in the snow, their sensations are in no
 “ respect disagreeable, nor the effects in any
 “ degree unwholesome.”

Though the hardness of the Russians has,
 with reason, been generally attributed to the
 sudden extremes of heat and cold which they
 experience on these occasions, yet other causes
 are not wanting that may concur to this effect.
 The peasants change their dress without the
 least attention to the variation of the seasons ;
 on the same day they wear only their coarse
 shirts and drawers, or are clad in the warmest
 clothing. They are totally unacquainted with
 the luxury of beds ; sleeping either upon the
 tops of their stoves, or on the bare floor, some-
 times in their clothes, and at other times al-
 most naked. Their cottages also are rendered
 exceedingly hot, from the number of persons
 crouded into a small space, and from the stoves,
 which are almost always heated, even in the
 midst

midst of summer; so that when they go out it is like issuing from a warm bath into the open air. The children are not tenderly nurtured, but are equally inured from their earliest infancy to the most opposite extremes. We seldom, indeed, passed through a village, in which we did not observe several running about the streets, and others, who were scarcely able to crawl, standing or lying near the doors of the cottages, with no other covering than their shirts, even in rainy or frosty weather. Thus the natives are used to sudden changes of heat and cold, and accustomed from their infancy to the hardiest kind of life.

On the evening of the 3d of February, 1779, we took our departure from Petersburg, and, travelling all night, arrived on the following day at Wiburgh. I took the following precautions to guard against the cold. I had on a suit of Bath-drugget lined with flannel; two pair of worsted stockings; slippers, over which I drew boots well secured with flannel and fur: these boots I generally wore in the carriage, but pulled off when I entered a house. If the weather had proved uncommonly severe, I was provided with a kind of sheep-skin case with the wool on the inside for each of my legs, which reached to my waist, and was large enough to enclose my boots. I wrapped round my body a great coat of blue nankeen lined with lamb-skin, and occasionally added a large *pelisse*, or fur robe. I had a bear's-skin muff; and my head was enveloped in a black velvet cap quilted with silk and cotton, which covered my cheeks,
was

was tied under my chin, and might, if necessary, be drawn over the face. Thus accoutred, I could venture to defy even the cold of Lapland, whither our course was directed.

Our train consisted of eight sledges, including those appropriated to the baggage, as, on account of the narrowness of the roads, each person had a separate carriage. There are various kinds of sledges used for travelling in this country: some are entirely close; others quite open; those which we employed were partly open, and partly covered. A sledge of this sort is shaped like a cradle; its tilt, which rises from the hinder extremity, and projects to about two feet, was open in front, but provided with curtains, which might be drawn and tied together whenever the weather was severe. The outside was secured with matting and oil-skin; and the inside with coarse cloth. Within was a mattress, feather-bed, and coverlid, or quilt of coarse cloth. In this travelling couch I sometimes lay extended at full length; sometimes sat cross-legged like a Turk; and at other times raised myself on a seat formed by two cushions. Each sledge was drawn by two horses, which, on account of the narrowness of the roads, were harnessed one before the other. The usual rate of travelling is from six to eight miles in the hour. The motion of the carriage over the beaten snow was so easy as to be almost imperceptible; and I never performed any journey in a more commodious manner.

Though we continued our route during the night, and there was no moon, yet an *Auro-*

ra Borealis and the whiteness of the snow supplied an agreeable species of twilight. The road, or rather path, through which our route lay, was scarcely more than a yard in breadth, sunk two or three feet beneath the level of the snow, and hardened by the repeated pressure of the horses and sledges. When two carriages met in this narrow track, the horses, which turned out of the way, sunk into the soft untrodden snow as high as their girths.

Feb. 4. Upon our arrival at Wiburgh about noon, we were conducted, by the governor's recommendation, to the house of a merchant, who entertained us in the most hospitable manner.

Russian Finland, which formerly belonged to the Swedes, was partly ceded to the Russians by the peace of Nyfstadt in 1721, and partly at the treaty of Abo in 1743. This province retains most of its antient privileges, with some occasional modifications, which have been necessarily introduced under the new government. The country produces, beside pasture, rye, oats, and barley, but not sufficient for the inhabitants. Wiburgh retains its own civil and criminal courts of justice: in penal cases, not capital, the punishments prescribed by the provincial judicature are inflicted; but whenever a criminal is condemned to death, the Russian laws interpose, and, relieving him from the sentence of beheading or hanging, as enjoined by the Swedish code, consign him to the knout and transportation to Siberia.

In the governor's court business is transacted

ed in the Swedish, German, and Russian tongues; but the inhabitants of the towns understand also Swedish, and many of them German. The Lutheran is the established religion of the province; but the Greek worship has been lately introduced by the Russians. The Lutheran clergy, considering the cheapness of provisions, and the small progress which luxury has made in this country, enjoy salaries not inadequate to their stations, some of their benefices amounting to £200 per annum, and the lowest to £120.

Wiburgh, the capital of Russian Finland, is a fortified town, and contains about 9000 inhabitants; a few houses are constructed with brick, but the greatest part are of wood. The principal commerce of the province is carried on at this place. The merchant, in whose house we were lodged, informed me, that the exports, the greatest part of which are purchased by the English, are planks, tallow, pitch, and tar; and the imports, which are mostly supplied from France, and Holland, wine, spices, and salt; that in 1778, 99 ships arrived there, of which 65 were English.

Feb. 5. Having received an invitation to dinner from the governor, we repaired to his house at one o'clock, and partook of an elegant repast, at the conclusion of which we returned to our lodgings; and having paid our warmest thanks (for he would accept no other acknowledgments) to our hospitable landlord; and quitting Wiburgh pursued our journey through the night.

In

In our route we did not once experience the least delay for want of horses, the governor having, with that polite attention which marked his character, sent previous orders, that relays should be ready for us at every post. The country through which we passed was a succession of hill and dale, abounding with forests of fir and beech, interspersed with numerous lakes, and thickly overspread with shattered fragments of granite, which looked like the wrecks of mountains. There was no moon, nor even the smallest gleam of an *Aurora Borealis*, yet the snow cast a strong light; and our train of sledges made a very picturesque appearance as they winded round the whitened hills, pierced into the thick forests, or extended in a straight line along the frozen surface of the lakes. During our course, the still silence of the night was frequently relieved by the carols of our drivers, who sang the most simple and pleasing airs. In this progress I beguiled the length of the journey, either by listening to their songs echoed by the surrounding forests, by admiring the unusual cast of the nocturnal scenery, or by slumbering in my travelling couch as comfortably as in a bed. The weather was uncommonly warm for the season of the year, the mercury in the thermometer scarcely descending at midnight more than three degrees below freezing point.

Feb. 6. We arrived about nine in the morning at Fredericksham, and took up our lodging at an inn, where we met with very comfortable accommodations.

Frede-

Fredericksham, when in the possession of the Swedes, was only a small village, but has been fortified by the Russians, for the purpose of securing the district in Finland, which was ceded to them at the peace of Abo. The town is small and regular: in the centre is a square, from which the streets extend at right angles. The houses, excepting one of brick, are all constructed with wood, but in the neatest manner. The fortifications are very strong: the garrison and several companies of soldiers, quartered in the neighbouring villages, amount to about 6000 troops. The inhabitants carry on a small commerce with England and Holland; export planks and tallow; and import salt and tobacco.

The governor of Wiburgh having previously dispatched a letter of recommendation in our favour to the commander of the garrison of Fredericksham, the latter, accompanied with the officers of his corps, honoured us with a visit immediately upon our arrival, and invited us to dinner. These marks of attention and hospitality are always pleasing to travellers in a foreign country, but were greatly enhanced in such a season of dearth. Our host, an old German officer, who had seen much service, and possessed all that liberal frankness generally conspicuous in veterans, enlivened an excellent entertainment with the vivacity of his conversation. The floors of the apartments, instead of being covered with carpets, were, according to a custom not unusual in these parts, strewn with leaves and small twigs of pines and firs, which
afford,

afford, when bruised, a pleasant smell, and give a cleanly appearance to the rooms.

Feb. 7. From Fredericksham we continued our journey through a hilly country abounding with forests and lakes, and in about 34 miles arrived at the frontiers of this empire.

The peasants of Finland differ widely from the Russians in their look and dress: they had for the most part fair complexions, and many of them red hair: they shave their beards, wear their hair parted at the top, and hanging to a considerable length over their shoulders*. We could not avoid remarking, that they were in general more civilized than the Russians; and that even in the smallest villages we were able to procure much better accommodations than we usually met with in the largest towns which we had hitherto visited in this empire. The inhabitants of this province enjoy considerable privileges, and profess a different religion: how far these circumstances may render them more enlightened than the Russians is a curious question, which cannot be answered by us who continued in the country during so short a time.

* The Russians have generally dark complexions and hair: they also wear their beards, and cut their hair short.

TRAVELS

TRAVELS
INTO

SWEDEN.

BOOK VII.

CHAP. I.

Entrance into Swedish Finland.—Louisa.—Helsingfors.—Abo.—Journey in sledges over part of the frozen surface of the Gulf of Bothnia.—Isle of Aland.—Passage by sea to the coast of Sweden.—Journey to Stockholm.

THE limits of Russia and Sweden, as settled by the peace of Abo, are formed by the river Kymen, on the south side whereof was a wooden house, a rampart of earth, and a small battery. Being admitted through a wooden barrier, guarded by a Russian soldier, we crossed a bridge to a small island, passed another bridge over a stream which was a branch of the Kymen; and went through a second barrier, at which stood a Swedish centinel. In quitting the Russian dominions our baggage

baggage was slightly searched; and in entering Swedish Finland, the same ceremony was performed by the custom-house officers of that district. Close to the frontiers we changed horses at Lilla-Abbors, and in less than an hour arrived at Louisa.

Soon after our departure from Wiburgh, the weather changed from very near a thaw to a severe frost, the mercury in the thermometer sinking to 22 below freezing point. This sudden alteration in the state of the atmosphere was in no wise disagreeable: the warmth of our cloathing enabled us to defy the most intense frost; nor had I once occasion to use all the coverings with which I had the precaution to provide myself. The face was the only part which I found difficult to secure against the attacks of the cold, and more particularly at night, when I was inclined to sleep. In that state I generally covered my cheeks and forehead with the flaps of my velvet cap, leaving only my nose and mouth free for respiration; and over them I sometimes held my muff, or placed my handkerchief, which was attended with this inconvenience: as the breath instantly congealed, the parts of the muff or handkerchief, in contact with my mouth, became in a short time so clotted with icicles, that I was obliged repeatedly to change their position, in order to prevent an accumulation of the frozen particles.

Louisa is an open town upon a bay of the Gulf of Bothnia, and is guarded towards the sea by a small fortress. The houses are all of wood, and of two stories; they are painted with

with a red colour, and look much neater than those of the common towns and villages in Russia. Soon after our arrival we waited upon the governor, to obtain an order for post horses, and to procure information with respect to our intended route to Stockholm. In summer travellers, in passing from Peterburgh to the capital of Sweden, commonly go by land to Abo: there they take ship, and, steering through the numerous islands which rise in that part of the Gulf of Bothnia to the eastern shore of Athland, they cross that island to its western coast, where they again embark, and proceed directly through a more open sea to Sweden. In winter the passage across the Gulf is not always practicable; for the channels between the numberless islands are mostly frozen, so as not to admit vessels, yet seldom sufficiently strong to support carriages; and, when that happens, the remaining part of the open gulf, from Aland to the coast of Sweden, which is not sprinkled with islands, is generally so embarrassed with floating masses of ice, as to render the navigation extremely dangerous. The usual way therefore, in winter, and which we intended to have pursued, lies round the Gulf of Bothnia, through Torneo in Swedish Lapland. We had anticipated the satisfaction we should receive from passing a few days at Torneo, a place rendered remarkable for the measurement of a degree by the celebrated Maupertuis; from making an excursion into Lapland beyond the Arctick Circle; from observing the manners and customs of the natives; and

and from riding in sledges drawn by rein-deer. But, alas! our curiosity was destined not to be gratified. Upon consulting the governor of Louisa, he informed us, that the season was too far advanced to proceed into Lapland; for if a general thaw should take place, which seemed very likely to happen, we should not be able to continue our route in sledges; and as we could not procure any carriages with wheels to convey us to Stockholm, we should be obliged to proceed by sea, which in the spring of the year is a very dangerous and uncertain navigation. He added also, that the passage across the Gulf of Bothnia was at this time fortunately practicable, as the channels between the small islands were sufficiently frozen to bear sledges, and the other part of the gulf was not obstructed with floating masses of ice. And when the governor perceived that, notwithstanding the favourable opportunity of crossing the Gulf of Bothnia, and the dangers which would necessarily attend our journey by land, we seemed eager to pursue our expedition to Lapland, he pressed his advice with the most forcible reasons; and would not desist until he had even extorted a promise that we would proceed directly to Abo. The gentleman to whom we were indebted for this friendly remonstrance, was a sensible well-informed old man, of Scotch extraction, and had served during several years in France in the Royal Swedish regiment. During a long conversation which we held with him, "You have probably," he said, "conceived a bad
opinion

“ opinion of Finland, from the regions which
“ you have already traversed, which are the
“ most desolate parts of the province; but I
“ assure you, that a few miles from the sea-
“ coast it is a very agreeable country, fertile
“ in pasture, rye, oats, and barley. From
“ the abundance of rivers and lakes, some of
“ which are of considerable length, an in-
“ land navigation might easily be formed at
“ little expence, and facilitate a communi-
“ cation between the different districts.”

Feb. 9. In pursuance of his advice, instead of continuing our route towards Lapland, we made our way to Abo. We sat off at eight in the evening, and were lighted during the whole night by a beautiful *Aurora Borealis*: the thermometer was scarcely below freezing point. Our road lay near the shore of the Gulf of Bothnia, through a hilly, rocky, and woody country. I observed the ground thickly strewn with detached masses of granite, as if broken by some violent convulsion. We frequently saw large flights of grouse, black cocks, and ptarmigans. In these parts the large species of grouse, called the cock of the wood, a bird almost equal in size to a small turkey, is not uncommon; the moor-fowl and ptarmigans are very plentiful; but the black game is so abundant, that we seldom sat down to dinner, even at the commonest inns, without being regaled with a brace of those delicious birds.

Having passed several large lakes, with which the country abounds, and crossed the frozen surface of a bay of the Gulf of Bothnia,

we arrived on the ensuing morning at Helsingfors, which stands in a very romantick situation, upon a rising shore, near several rocks and huge fragments of granite. Within a small distance of Helsingfors, and close to the gulf, the Swedes were constructing a fortress, which, when finished, will be the strongest in these parts. The harbour is the most commodious in Finland.

Agreeably to an invitation from the governor of Helsingfors, to whom we applied for further information respecting our passage across the Gulf of Bothnia, we repaired in the evening to a ball: the gentlemen and ladies all wore the new Swedish dress*; and amused themselves chiefly with minuets and English country dances. The company were very polite and attentive to us, and several accosted us in French.

Feb. 11. We quitted Helsingfors on the morning, and arrived at Abo, which is distant about 150 miles, on the evening of the 12th, through a tract of country that seemed better peopled than the other parts of Finland which we had hitherto traversed; and which was diversified with a beautiful mixture of hill and dale.

Abo, the capital of Swedish Finland, lies upon the point where the Gulfs of Bothnia and Finland unite: the town, which is not ill-built, contains several brick-houses, but the generality are of wood painted red. The inhabitants export linen, corn, and planks.

We

* See the description of these dresses in the next chapter.

We had scarcely arrived, when the burgomaster of the town obligingly waited upon us, and on the following morning conducted us to the university, which was founded in 1640 by Christina, and endowed with the same privileges as that of Upsala. It contained at that time about 300 students. The collection in the library amounted to 3000 volumes, a catalogue of which was published in 1655, and a second edition in 1685*. The books were removed in 1713 to Stockholm when the Russians had possession of the town; and were again restored to the university upon the peace of Nystadt. There is also a school at Abo, which was founded by Gustavus Adolphus, for 300 scholars.

Feb. 13. About 40 miles from Abo, we arrived upon the Gulf of Bothnia, and passed over the frozen surface along a track marked with two rows of small trees and boughs placed upright in the ice as a direction for travellers; we crossed occasionally several small islands and rocks, separated from each other by straits from fifty yards to four or five miles in breadth. At midnight we stopped upon the island Varisala till break of day, as well from the dread of large holes in the ice which render travelling by night extremely hazardous; as because our danger would have been extreme, if we had wandered from the path, and been lost upon the wide expanse of ice, which had nearly happened to colonel Floyd, as he thus describes in his journal. "A cowardly
G 2 "ardly

* Arckenholtz Memoires de Christine, Tom. II. p. 309.

“ardly driver overturned me into the snow,
“but the fall was gentle. Night came on,
“at first very much overcast, but afterwards
“illuminated by an *Aurora Borealis*, which
“was, however, not in streaks like those
“usually in England, but a continued glare
“of red light. We arrived at length upon
“the Gulf, crossed a sheet of ice many miles
“in length, and some small rocky islands,
“upon one of which my driver suddenly
“turned into the yard of a peasant’s cottage,
“and stopped. I soon perceived that he had
“lost his way: inquiry being in vain on my
“part, as I could not speak the language, I
“encouraged him by signs to endeavour to
“regain the track; he complied, but with
“such ill humour, that he drove against a
“rock, and again overset me, though fortunately without any bad consequence; he
“then passed by a narrow way through a
“wood, and soon arrived at the edge of
“the island. I listened eagerly for the sound
“of the other sledges, but to no purpose;
“then, anxiously looking around me, I descried at some distance the boughs which
“mark the road over the ice, and, instantly
“pointing it out, we pursued the path, and
“after several miles overtook my companions, determined never again to lose sight of
“the last sledge. In crossing, however, another island, the sledge which immediately
“preceded mine suddenly stopped: we had
“again lost the way, but soon recovered it,
“and joined the party.”

Upon Varisala we found a comfortable village:

lage: the inhabitants were Fins, and spoke only the Finnish tongue.

Feb. 14. We sat out early: the weather was hazy and unpromising, and a strong breeze began to freshen. The post was about 18 miles in length: we passed many small islands and rocks; some covered with under-wood, and sprinkled with villages; others were nothing but bare granite, without a single habitation or tree. In a few places the ice of the gulf was a smooth sheet; in others it was roughly frozen in waves and large masses. The vast extended plain of ice, broken in abrupt ridges, the boundless and dreary track marked only by a line of trees and boughs, and the rugged rocks starting up on every side, afforded one of the most desolate scenes imaginable.

We changed horses at Brando, an island which contained six or seven villages, a church, some arable land, and small woods. About three we arrived upon the island Cumlin, 36 miles from Varisala; and as the next post was above thirty miles, we prudently took up our quarters in a peasant's cottage, rather than again encounter the hazards of a journey by night. The peasants were well clothed; the men wore long cloth coats lined with sheep-skin; the women a striped kind of woollen stuff, of mixed colours, chiefly green, white, and red: they seemed very honest; and our servants had no occasion to employ the same vigilance in watching the luggage as was requisite in Russia*. The cottages were built like

* See Vol. I.

like those in Russia, with whole trees piled one upon the other, and mortised and tenanted at each extremity ; the timbers of several were sawed on the outside in the form of planks. They generally contain two or three apartments, small, but neat and clean, have all brick chimnies, and a semicircular fireplace high and narrow, in which the wood is placed upright, and by means of birch-bark instantaneously kindled. The villagers possessed many conveniencies of life, which we did not meet with in Russia, particularly beds, and a greater variety of household furniture.

While our dinner was preparing, we strolled to a wind-mill situated on an eminence, from whence we commanded a full view of the island, which seemed a huge pile of rocks of red and grey granite. Near the village we observed three or four fields which had been sown with rye, and at a little distance a small wood of firs and birch ; in the other parts we could discover nothing but juniper and moss. Beside the hut in which we were lodged, it contained a church and a few scattered cottages. The inhabitants of Cumlin spoke the Swedish language. The severe frost of the preceding day was succeeded by a sudden thaw, accompanied with rain and sleet ; and in the evening a violent hurricane came on ; we heard on all sides the cracking of the ice sounding like the explosions of thunder, and which alarmed us with the dread of being detained in so dreary a spot : for if, as we had reason to apprehend, the ice had been broken up, it could not have been

been passed in sledges ; and a continuance of the thaw for a fortnight at least would have been requisite before any communication by water could have been formed with the continent or neighbouring islands. The wind increasing to a most violent degree towards midnight, and the noise from the bursting of the ice redoubling, we imagined that a considerable delay was unavoidable ; and began to inquire whether the inhabitants were furnished with sufficient provisions to supply our wants and their own. We were happy to find that four cows, a few hogs, and poultry, and a large store of hard bread, which they bake twice in the year, were more than sufficient to remove all apprehensions of famine during a much longer period than we were likely to remain upon the island. Fortunately, however, we did not put these resources to the test : towards morning the wind subsided, and the rents in the ice not appearing dangerous, we were able to continue our route at sun-rise. It was a most delightful day ; in the morning the mercury in the thermometer stood at two degrees above freezing point, and at noon rose to five ; the sun shone with such brightness, and the weather was so clear and warm, that we might almost have imagined it to have been summer, if we had not been undeceived by the frozen mass around us. On the preceding day the whole scenery was uniformly enveloped with snow, which having been melted, the surface of the Gulf became a pure expanse of ice : the distance to the next post was about 35 miles, and much less

less diversified with islands than the parts which we had passed previous to our arrival at Cumlin. In one place we traversed a level sheet of ice, at least ten miles in length, unbroken with a single rock or island; but as the late storm had produced several apertures, and as the thaw greatly increased, we went on with caution, and were preceded by an inhabitant of Cumlin for our guide, who carried a hatchet and plumbing iron; with the former he occasionally cut the ice, and with the latter he measured its thickness, in order to ascertain whether it was sufficiently strong to support our sledges. In some places he made a considerable circuit to avoid an aperture; often called out to the drivers to keep at some distance from each other; and repeatedly warned them to follow the precise track which he pursued. In this manner he conducted us in about eight hours, and without the least accident, to the Isle of Aland.

Aland, which gives to this cluster of islands the general appellation of the Isles of Aland, is about 40 miles in length, and from 12 to 16 in breadth: it contains many villages, and about 50,000 inhabitants; they speak the Swedish language, but are included in the government of Finland, both as to spiritual and temporal affairs. The basis of the soil seemed to be granite, of the same nature with the shores of Finland, and of the numerous islands which we had lately traversed; and the whole assemblage of them looked like a ridge of rocks, which had been once joined to each other and

to the continent, but undermined and separated by the sea.

We changed horses at Varyat, Scarpats, Harolfsby, Enkerlu, and Trebenka. Between Scarpats and Harolfsby we descended into a broader and more cultivated plain than we had observed since we had quitted Finland: it contained arable and pasture land, a lake, and a river. In the midst of this plain stand, upon an insular rock of red granite, the ruins of an ancient palace, called Castelholm, which, as it is remarkable in the history of Sweden, we stopped to examine. It commands a pleasing, though bounded prospect of two small lakes, whose banks rise into gentle eminences skirted with wood. The castle is partly built with red granite of a very beautiful colour and grain, and partly with brick. To this solitary rock Eric XIV. son and successor of Gustavus Vasa, was, in 1571, confined by his brother John III. The dungeon in which he was imprisoned still bears the name of the apartment of Eric. In order to gain access to it, we crawled through an arch upon our hands and knees, on account of the heaps of stones and bricks which obstructed the passage: we then came into the shell of a large apartment, from whence we entered a small room, and having ascended a ladder of nine or ten steps, many of which were broken, and which from its antiquity was probably the very ladder that existed in the days of the royal prisoner, we passed through a trap door into the apartment of Eric. It is about 20 feet long and 11 broad; low and vaulted; and has only one small opening to admit

admit the light, which is scarcely more than two inches in breadth. I shall have occasion in another place to mention the sufferings and catastrophe of this very unfortunate sovereign.

Having gratified our curiosity at Castelholm, we continued our route during the night : the snow being all melted by the thaw, our journey was tedious and disagreeable ; our sledges were slowly dragged over the rocky and sandy roads, so that we did not, before five in the morning, reach the place of embarkation upon the western shore of the island. The wind blowing directly contrary, we took up our lodging at the post-house, and retired reluctantly to rest, but were awakened about ten with the agreeable news that it was shifted, and that we might be able to cross the Gulf. The only decked vessel which this place afforded being ice-bound, we had no other resource but two open boats, manned with a pilot, five or six fishermen, and about ten peasants ; but, as the weather was fine, we ordered our baggage on board, and embarked at mid-day. The distance to the opposite coast is 49 miles. The first part of this passage was interspersed with several small rocky islands, one of which appeared inhabited ; but from the extremity of the last island, which is about 35 miles from the continent of Sweden, the sea is entirely open : from that point we had a fine breeze, which carried us at the rate of seven knots in the hour ; and we were within six miles of the coast about sun-set, with the prospect of a speedy disembarkation ; but soon afterwards the breeze slackened, and was followed by a calm,

calm, which lasted about half an hour; when the wind rose in the opposite quarter, and blew directly from shore. In this situation the night overtook us; the gale freshened, the sea ran high, the coast was rocky and full of breakers, our vessel a crazy open fishing boat, and the greatest part of our crew wholly unexperienced. We in vain endeavoured by tacking and rowing to reach the shore; and we began to be seriously alarmed lest we should not be able to weather the storm; in this state of anxiety we continued until midnight, the gale hourly increasing; when at length by a fortunate tack and incessant rowing, we got under the lee of a high coast: we instantly hauled down the sails, and rowed for a considerable time, though still without being able, on account of the breakers, to find a proper place for landing. After several fruitless attempts, we at last drove the boat upon shore, and disembarking, after much pains, upon a shelving hill of ice, we crawled upon our hands and knees, and gained the land, though with much difficulty. We here escaped a danger, which at the time we did not apprehend, as we were afterwards informed that these shelves of ice are frequently full of large holes, into which had we fallen we must inevitably have perished. Having providentially escaped these and other perils, we procured a guide from an adjacent cottage, and proceeded to Grislehaven, about the distance of three miles: we walked through woody and rugged ways, half melted ice, sometimes above our ancles in water, repeatedly falling down, but exceedingly happy that we were

were upon land: for we heard the wind blowing very boisterously, and the breakers roaring with increasing violence. About three in the morning we arrived at the inn; and at five the other bark, containing our servants and baggage, landed with still greater difficulty than we had experienced, and after having narrowly escaped being wrecked upon the rocks: the sailors were so terrified that they cried; and our courier was incessantly employed in crossing himself, and exclaiming, "*Domine, non sum dignus mori.*" "Lord, I am not worthy to die."

Feb. 18. As the snow had totally disappeared, the dragging of our sledges over the bare ground was a work of such difficulty and labour, that, notwithstanding we began our journey about ten in the morning and travelled till dusk, we were scarcely able to reach the village of Staby, which was distant only 20 miles from Grislehaven, although half the route lay over large lakes and flooded marshes, where we still found the ice sufficiently strong.

The experience of this day's journey convinced us to what a wretched situation we should have been reduced, if we had pursued our course towards Lapland; and reminded us how much we were indebted to the salutary remonstrances of the governor of Louisa.

We passed the night at Staby; and, as we found it impracticable to proceed any longer in sledges, continued our journey the next morning in open carts, the only carriages we were able to procure. In this manner we journeyed to Stockholm, where, on account of
of

of various delays, we did not arrive until the following evening.

The distance from Grislehaven, the place of our disembarkation, to Stockholm is above eighty miles; yet the country was so thinly peopled, that we did not pass through one town. The villages were few and small, but very picturesque, being mostly situated upon the points of the craggy rocks, and frequently overhanging a lake. Many straggling cottages and houses were pleasantly scattered over the face of the country, which was in general hilly, rocky, and covered with forests, corn, and pasture. After the dreary scenes which we had been long accustomed to, the herbage, just recovered from the snow under which it had been buried during the whole winter, was a grateful object; and it was remarkable, that both the grass and blades of young corn had contracted a yellowish hue, and appeared as if they had been parched by a burning sun.

As we approached the capital, the country was extremely wild and rocky, and still more thinly inhabited: I scarcely ever observed a more desolate, yet more picturesque, region than the environs of Stockholm. We entered that city on the evening of the 20th of February; and immediately drove to an inn in the center of the town, where we met with excellent apartments, and every accommodation we could desire, to alleviate the fatigues of our late journey.

C H A P. II.

Description of Stockholm.—Presentation to the king.—Court.—New Swedish dress.—Publick suppers.—Royal family.—Tombs and characters of Magnus Ladislas, Charles Canut-fan, Gustavus Adolphus, Charles XI. and XII.—Royal Academy of Sciences. Its transactions.—Schools.—Conversation with a Lap-länder on the general state of Lapland.—Similarity between the Hungarian and Lap-land languages.

THE foundation of Stockholm * is, by the best Swedish writers, generally attributed to Birger Jarl, regent of the kingdom about the middle of the 13th century during the minority of his son Waldemar, who had been raised to the throne by the states of the kingdom; but it was not before the last century that the royal residence was transferred from Upsula to this city.

During the course of my travels, I have seen no town with whose situation I was so much struck as with that of Stockholm for its singular and romantick scenery. This capital, which is very long and irregular, occupies,

* The reader who is fond of such inquiries, may consult Danlius Geschichte von Sweden, Vol. II p. 178, upon the derivation of the appellation of Stockholm, where he will find how many absurd etymologies may be given to the word Stock.

pies, beside two peninsulas, seven small rocky islands, scattered in the Mæler, in the streams which issue from that lake, and in a bay of the Gulf of Bothnia. A variety of contrasted and enchanting views are formed by numberless rocks of granite rising boldly from the surface of the water, partly bare and craggy, partly dotted with houses, or feathered with wood. The harbour is an inlet of the Baltick: the water is clear as chrystal, and of such depth that ships of the largest burthen can approach the quay, which is of considerable breadth, and lined with spacious buildings and warehouses. At the extremity of the harbour several streets rise one above another in the form of an amphitheatre; and the palace, a magnificent building, crowns the summit. Towards the sea, about two or three miles from the town, the harbour is contracted into a narrow strait, and, winding among high rocks, disappears from the sight; and the prospect is terminated by distant hills, overspread with forest. It is far beyond the power of words, or of the pencil, to delineate these singular views. The central island, from which the city derives its name, and the Ritterholm, are the handsomest parts of the town.

Excepting in the suburbs, where the houses are of wood painted red, the generality of the buildings are of stone, or brick stuccoed white. The royal palace, which stands in the center of Stockholm, and upon the highest spot of ground, was begun by Charles XI.: it is a large quadrangular stone edifice,
and

and the style of architecture is both elegant and magnificent.

Feb. 23. At seven in the evening we accompanied the English minister, Sir Thomas Wroughton, to court, to have the honour of being presented to Gustavus III. All the company in the drawing-room, the foreign ministers and ourselves excepted, wore the national habit lately introduced into this country by his present majesty. The dress of the men resembles the old Spanish, and consists of a short coat, or rather jacket, a waistcoat, a cloak, a hat with a feather *à la Henry IV.* a sash round the waist, a sword, large and full breeches, and roses in the shoes: the cloak is of black cloth edged with red sattin; the coat or jacket, and breeches, are also black, ornamented with red stripes and buttons; the waistcoat, the sash, the pinks at the knees, and roses for the shoes, are of red satin. The dress of the ladies is a black silk robe with slit sleeves puffed with white gauze, coloured sash and ribbands. This is the usual court apparel. On solemn festivals the men wear white cloth or sattin, lined and striped with red sattin; the women white silk or satin, with coloured ribbands and sash. The men, who have not been presented at court, are dressed almost entirely in black, without any red lining and ornaments; and the women of the same description must not appear with the white gauze sleeves. In other respects, their attire is similar to that just described.

About

About half past seven the king and queen entered the drawing-room, both in the national habit. His majesty passed gradually from one end of the apartment to the other, addressed himself to different persons with great vivacity; and saluted, according to the etiquette of the court, every senator's lady. Being presented to the king and queen, his majesty did us the honour to converse with each of us for a considerable time with great condescension and affability. At the conclusion of this ceremony they withdrew into an adjacent apartment, and were followed by great part of the company. The king played at *trente et quarante* with about twenty persons; and the queen sat down to *ombre*. About nine their majesties quitted play, and, repairing to another apartment, supped in publick: the princess Sophia Albertina was the only person who sat down to table with them, that honour being on these occasions confined to the royal family. Opposite to their majesties, at a small distance from the lower end of the table, were ranges of taboarets or stools for senators' and embassadors' wives, no other ladies being permitted to sit, so that none below those ranks ever make their appearance at these entertainments.

The strictest adherence to form is observed in this court: while many sovereigns of Europe are endeavouring to retrench the ceremonies attendant on royalty, Gustavus III. has introduced a degree of pomp and etiquette similar to that used at Versailles, and hitherto unknown in this country. The king appears

to possess too enlarged an understanding to be, in this instance, a servile imitator of the French; it is therefore more probable, that his motive for this conduct is in some measure political, as the increase of political prerogative may have rendered it expedient to throw an additional splendour round the majesty of the throne. During supper the king talked almost incessantly with the Swedish nobility, and the foreign ministers and gentlemen who stood near his person.

On the following Tuesday, at the same ceremony of a drawing-room and a publick supper, his majesty did me the honour to converse with me for above half an hour upon various points of the Swedish history. He delighted me with many lively remarks and judicious reflections upon the different characters of the kings of Sweden; and particularly expatiated with rapture upon the eminent qualities of Gustavus Vasa and Gustavus Adolphus, who seemed the favourite objects of his admiration. Among other topics he mentioned the proposal made by Eric XIV. to espouse our Elizabeth, and the splendid embassy of that monarch's brother John to London, for the purpose of demanding her in marriage; adding, that this transaction had escaped the notice of many of the English historians, and that even Hume, who in general pays greater attention to foreign affairs, had touched on it only in a very cursory manner: he concluded by observing, that Celsius, in his excellent life of Eric

Eric XIV.* had given a very curious and circumstantial account of John's embassy, and of the whole correspondence between Eric and Elizabeth.

As our stay at Stockholm was very short, I had no further opportunity of enjoying those agreeable and instructive conversations with which I might have been indulged by his majesty's uncommon condescension. Gustavus III. was born on the 24th of January, 1746; in 1771 ascended the throne upon the demise of his father Adolphus Frederick; and in the course of the following year effected the revolution which considerably extended the regal authority. By his queen, Sophia Magdalena, daughter of Frederick V. late king of Denmark, he has issue Gustavus Adolphus, prince royal of Sweden, and Charles Gustavus, since deceased. The other members of the royal family are his majesty's brothers, prince Charles duke of Sudermanland, who espoused Hedwige princess of Lubeck, and prince Frederick Adolphus duke of East-Gothland; and a sister the princess Sophia Albertina.

The queen dowager, to whom we had the honour of being presented at her palace of Frederickshof, and who is since dead, was Louisa Ulrica sister to the king of Prussia, a princess who resembled her brother, as well in the features of her countenance as in those

H 2

eminent

* The original of this excellent work is written in Swedish; there is a French translation which I read with great pleasure, particularly the part to which the king alluded. See *Histoire d'Eric XIV.* par Olof Cellius.

eminent abilities which characterize the family of Brandenburg. An unfortunate misunderstanding had for some time taken place between her and his Swedish majesty : it was chiefly occasioned by the ambitious views of the queen dowager, who, accustomed to rule the cabinet with absolute authority in the reign of her husband, expected to retain the same influence during that of her son ; but as the monarch, who had emancipated himself from the shackles of an aristocracy, had too much spirit to be governed by a woman, the disappointment of her views drew from her frequent expostulations and bitter remonstrances, which, joined to circumstances of too delicate a nature to be publicly mentioned, terminated at length in an open rupture. Her majesty died at Stockholm in the month of July, 1782.

Agreeably to my usual attention to tombs and monuments, I did not omit paying a visit to the sepulchres of the kings of Sweden, whose remains are interred in the church of Ritterholm. The first of these monarchs is Magnus Ladeflas, son of Birger Jarl, who, having forced his brother to abdicate, ascended the throne of Sweden in 1274, and died in 1290, with the character of a wise and prudent monarch ; although he entailed upon his kingdom a long series of civil feuds and commotions, by dividing it into different fiefs, and bestowing them upon his three sons. His ashes are covered by a tomb of stone, which stands before the altar ; and near it is the sepulchre of Charles Canutson, who was elected

electd king when the Swedes first broke the union of Calmar. In his contest for the crown he found such powerful rivals in the kings of Denmark, that from the time of his first ascending the throne to his death, Sweden was rent into two violent parties, which, as they alternately prevailed, Charles was one moment a king, and the next an exile; and his depositions and restorations were so frequent, that it remains to be questioned, whether, during the æra of his reign, he was not oftener a titular, than a real sovereign. He was, however, in full possession of the regal authority when he died at Stockholm in 1470*.

The next sovereign, though after a long interval, whose remains are deposited in this church, is Gustavus Adolphus, whose eminent civil and military virtues raised Sweden to the highest degree of renown; and who was one of those few princes that never engaged in war but upon the justest grounds. The greatest commander of an age, which abounded in great generals, he stood up an advocate for liberty and toleration against tyranny, persecution, and bigotry; and laid the first foundation of that equal balance of power, which was afterwards settled by the peace of Westphalia. In 1632 he finished his glorious career at the battle of Lutzen, in the 38th year of his age: being amongst the foremost of the combatants, he received a
ball

* The succeeding sovereigns of the House of Vasa, excepting Charles IX. are interred at Upsala. See Chapter VI.

ball in his left arm, but still kept the field till another pierced him through the body. Many of the Swedes assert, and still believe, that this great monarch was treacherously killed by the duke of Saxe Lauenburgh, who fought by his side. Upon examining, however, the proofs advanced in favour of this assertion, they amount merely to vague conjectures and uncertain traditions; and no substantial evidence has been ever produced which might tend to criminate the duke: it is more probable, indeed, that a general, who was remarkable for his courage, and who rashly exposed his person on all occasions, should receive his death from the enemy than from one of his own associates; unless the contrary should be established upon the most undoubted facts.

A few years ago prince Henry of Prussia, being at Stockholm, descended into the vault, and opened the coffin which contains the remains of Gustavus. A Swedish nobleman, who accompanied the prince into the vault, assured me, that the body was in a state of complete preservation; that the countenance still retained the most perfect resemblance to his pictures and coins; and particularly that the whiskers and short pointed beard, which he wore according to the fashion of the times in which he lived, were distinctly visible. A common observer is struck with a reverential awe on beholding only the representation of a deceased hero remarkable for his great virtues; what then must have been the sensations of prince Henry in contemplating the real remains

mains of the great Gustavus, whom he admires and emulates !

In Gustavus Adolphus ended the male line of the House of Vasa : since his time all the monarchs of the female branch are interred in this church, except his daughter Christina*, who exhibits a striking example, that though it becomes all sovereigns to protect the arts and sciences, yet that they deserve censure if their literary pursuits interfere with the more necessary occupations of government. In Christina we see a princess discrediting her great endowments by a vain parade and affectation of singularity ; apostatizing to a religion which she affected to ridicule and despise ; while upon the throne desirous of a private station, and after she had attained it by a voluntary sacrifice of her authority, incessantly repining, and anxious to recover, upon the most humiliating conditions, that crown which she had so capriciously resigned.

Charles Gustavus, in whose favour she abdicated, and who is buried in a small chapel of the church, was son of Casimir, prince palatine of the Rhine, and of Catharine sister of Gustavus Adolphus. His conduct towards Christina was a master-piece of policy : he proposed to espouse her, yet hoped that she would not accept his proposals ; openly remonstrated against her abdication, yet secretly contrived to fortify her resolutions ; and appeared least eager for the crown in the moment when he was most ambitious to wear it.

Bred

* She was buried at Rome.

Bred in the military school of Germany, he inherited the warlike, rather than the civil, virtues of his uncle Gustavus Adolphus ; and was one of those great, but restless spirits, who esteem war as the sole occupation worthy of a monarch ; and who, while they are adding to their own laurels, disregard the miseries and distresses of their subjects. Under his administration Sweden acquired an high degree of renown ; and nothing less than the appearance of the English and Dutch fleets in the Baltick could have stopped the progress of his arms ; have interposed to save Denmark ; or again reduced the balance of the Northern powers to its proper equilibrium. Arrested in the midst of his career by a premature death, he expired at Gotheborg, on the 23d of February, 1660, after a short reign of only six years.

“ Il n'avoit,” writes the historian of Denmark, “ que trente-six ans, et ses dernières
“ années avoient été aussi occupées, ou plutôt
“ aussi agitées, que les précédentes avoient
“ été tranquilles et oisives. Quand on considère tout ce que ce prince avoit fait pendant ce court période de sa vie ; sa passion,
“ ses talents pour la guerre, son activité, son
“ ambition sans bornes, le respect et la terreur qu'il avoit inspirés au dedans et au dehors de ses états, on ne peut s'empêcher de
“ regarder sa mort prématurée, comme un de
“ ces événemens auxquels étoit attaché le sort
“ d'une grande partie de l'Europe : Et pour
“ ne parler que de la Suède, à quel degré de
“ gloire et de misère ne l'eut-il pas sans doute
“ portée,

“ portée, s’il eut fourni la carrière que la na-
 “ ture accorde à la plupart des hommes, mais
 “ que le ciel dans sa pitié refuse d’ordinaire
 “ aux conquérans. Quelques revers, et la
 “ vue d’une fin prochaine, avoient donc
 “ éclairé Charles Gustave sur la vanité de tous
 “ ses ambitieux desseins : en recommandant à
 “ ses successeurs de faire promptement la
 “ paix, il donnoit une grande leçon à ses
 “ pareils ; et c’est là sans doute le trait de son
 “ histoire le plus précieux aux yeux de la
 “ raison et de l’humanité*.”

His son and successor Charles XI. whose
 sepulchre is contiguous to that of his father,
 has been reprobated by many foreign histori-
 ans as an odious tyrant ; but his character,
 if inspected without prejudice, so far from
 deserving that imputation, will in many in-
 stances merit our respect and esteem. An un-
 favourable idea of his despotick principles
 has

* Mallet Histoire de Dannemarc, vol. III. p. 432. “ At his
 “ death he was only six and thirty years of age, and the last
 “ years of his life were as agitated as the preceding part had
 “ been tranquil. When we contemplate all the actions which
 “ this prince performed during the short period of his exist-
 “ ence ; his talents for war, his activity, his boundless ambi-
 “ tion, the respect and terror which he impressed equally up-
 “ on his subjects and his enemies, we must consider his death
 “ as an event that could not but affect the interest of the great-
 “ est part of Europe ; and with respect to Sweden, to what a
 “ degree of glory and wretchedness would he not have car-
 “ ried her, if he had attained that period of life which nature
 “ generally grants to the greatest part of mankind, but
 “ which heaven, in its compassion, most commonly refuses to
 “ conquerors. A reverse of fortune, and the approach of
 “ death, had fully exposed to him the vanity of his ambitious
 “ designs. In recommending an immediate peace to his suc-
 “ cessor, he afforded a most striking lesson to other sove-
 “ reigns ; and this perhaps is the most exemplary particular
 “ of his history in the consideration of reason and humanity.”

has been formed from his refumption of many crown lands, which reduced several families to poverty ; and from his mode of liquidating the publick debts, by raising the nominal worth of the coin without increasing its real value. Although it cannot be denied that some of these measures were oppressive and violent ; yet when we consider the exhausted state of the finances derived from the boundless profusion of Christina* ; the ruinous wars of Charles Gustavus, and the disorders of a long minority ; we cannot but assent to the opinion of the most unprejudiced Swedes, that, though the reform introduced by Charles was in some instances prejudicial to individuals, yet upon the whole it was salutary to the country ; and that nothing less than the most violent measures could have extricated his subjects from the deplorable and exhausted state to which they were reduced.

In one point of view Charles merited and gained the love and esteem of his people : notwithstanding his natural ardour for military glory, he invariably persisted in pacifick measures † ; and while he preserved his own country from the horrors of war, he mediated the peace of Europe. To Charles XI. may be ascribed, what Boileau falsely attributed

* The principal nobles, during the minority of Charles XI. took advantage of a weak government to appropriate the few crown-lands which Christina had not alienated.

† “ His peaceable conduct may perhaps more justly be ascribed to the state of his affairs, than his own nature, which more powerfully inclines him to the fatigue of a camp, than the ease of a court ; and suits better with a martial familiarity, than the shews of grandeur, and the solemnities of state.” Bishop Robinson’s Account of Sweden.

“ His

tributed to Louis XIV. that he was his own minister †; and what could not have been said of the French monarch, without flattery, was worthy of being so. Charles was chaste, temperate, æconomical, vigilant, and active; a patron of letters; severe, yet not implacable; prone to anger, but easily softened.

If we consider the interior administration of affairs, Charles XI. was one of the wisest monarchs who ever sat upon the throne of this kingdom. To him Sweden stands indebted for many excellent regulations which still subsist. In a word, he was what Philip of Macedon was to Alexander, the precursor of his son's greatness, and the founder of his victories: for without the army which he had disciplined and improved, and the treasure which he had collected, Charles XII. could never have withstood the combined forces of all the Northern powers; nor could he have pushed his conquests with that celerity which astonished and confounded all Europe. Charles XI. was born on the 25th of November, 1655, and died on the 24th of April, 1697, aged 42; lamenting, it is said, upon his death bed, as the only reproach to his memory,

"His majesty's" says Robinson, "most diligent inspection
"into all the affairs of his kingdom, besides that it makes all
"his ministers more circumspect, hath gained him a great
"stock of experience. The smallest matters are not below his
"notice; and nothing of any moment is concluded before he
"hath been consulted: this is the employment of all his time,
"scarce any hour of the day passing from five in the morning,
"when he constantly rises, in which business of one nature
"or other is not before him."

† Et qui seul, sans ministre, à l'exemple des dieux,

Soutiens tout par Toi-même, & vois tout par tes yeux.

Boileau, Discours au Roi.

ry, the natural violence of his temper *, which he had not sufficiently corrected.

The tomb of Charles XII. is a raised sepulchre of dark marble; it has no other inscription than his name: over it are laid in cast bronze a club and lion's skin, which mark more forcibly than any words

—————“ his unconquerable will
“ And courage never to submit or yield †.”

It would be needless to dwell upon a character so well known as that of Charles XII. whose ambition was madness, and whose valour was ferocity. I shall, therefore, confine myself to one anecdote attested by the most respectable authority ‡.

Among many conversations with his friend count Poniatowski, the latter recollected one, in which Charles, after various reflections upon his brilliant successes, which he modestly attributed rather to his good fortune than to his good conduct, expressed an intention of marrying; and planned for himself a life of tranquillity in his own kingdom, when he would pay greater attention to the interior administration of affairs, and endeavour to promote the real interests of his subjects. This anecdote, which is unknown to all his biographers, will show that even his savage spirit, which seemed to breathe nothing but war, was not always insensible to more peaceful comforts, and to the pleasing prospect of domes-

* Schloetzer's Briefwechsel, vol. I. p. 147.

† Milton.

‡ I had the honour of receiving this anecdote from the king of Poland, who had it from his father count Poniatowski.

domestick happiness. Whether this project was merely an idea of the moment, or seriously intended to be carried into execution, cannot now be ascertained; but he certainly had removed its accomplishment to a certain period; for at the time of his sudden death, he was expecting with impatience the conclusion of a treaty with Peter the Great; not to restore peace to his distracted country, but, in alliance with Russia and Spain, to dethrone the king of Poland, to seat the pretender upon the throne of Great Britain, and to rekindle in Europe a general war. Charles XII. was killed at the siege of Frederichshall on the 30th of November, 1718, in the 36th year of his age; and it remains to this day uncertain, whether he was shot by a ball from the enemy's batteries, or fell by the hands of an assassin*.

The remaining sovereigns who lie interred in this church, are Ulrica Eleonora, sister of Charles XII. who ascended the throne of Sweden only to resign it to her husband Frederick I. that monarch, and the late king Adolphus Frederick, mere pageants of royalty, who wielded a sceptre without power; and whose history contains little more than the æra of of their succession, and the time of their death.

Beside the sovereigns of Sweden, this church contains the ashes of Banier, a general, who no less deserves mention than the most illustrious monarch, if we estimate his deserts by the service which he rendered to his country.

John

* See the next Chapter.

John Banier, of an illustrious Swedish family, was born in 1601; and, receiving a very excellent education, made so great a proficiency in literature, that Gustavus Adolphus used to call him his learned general. Whilst a boy he attracted by his magnanimity the notice of that monarch, who pronounced him formed for great events, and placed him in the army; where he soon signalized himself in so particular a manner, that, under 20 years of age, he was employed by him in many critical enterprizes, which required no less dexterity than bravery. After the death of Gustavus he supported, as commander in chief, the lustre of the Swedish arms by a series of victories, which raised his military character higher than that of any general of the age. He sustained this reputation undiminished until his death, which carried him off at Halberstadt on the 10th of May, 1641, in the 40th year of his age. Banier was not insensible of the glory which he had acquired by his great actions, but usually spoke of them with great modesty. He was accustomed to say, that he never formed any expedition, nor hazarded an action, without the most reasonable hopes of success. He was equally feared and beloved by the soldiers, and always inspired them with the most unbounded confidence. At the head of his troops he acted solely from himself, and without dependence; and would rather have resigned the command, than have been directed in his military operations by the orders of the cabinet. "Why do ye think," he would say

say to his confidants, "that Gallas and Picolomini cannot be successful against me, but because they dare not act without the consent of the imperial ministry." He had the absolute disposal of all commissions, and established in general a regular order of promotion: he was humane to the vanquished enemy, extremely cautious not wantonly to expose his troops to action, and blamed those generals who in sieges sacrifice the lives of their men in order to raise their own military character. But though he was thus sparing of his soldiers' blood, he was no less liberal of his own; being himself the bravest person in his army, and too frequently seeking danger with a degree of rashness scarcely pardonable in a general, but which he inherited from his master in the art of war the great Gustavus.

In our visits to the Swedish nobility, we found the same politeness and hospitality as among the Poles and Russians, although much less magnificence and expence in their houses, retinue, and entertainments, which arises from a circumstance that must give pleasure to every friend of humanity. The possession of land not being in this country, as in Poland and Russia, appropriated to any particular description of men, property is more equally diffused; and such vast accumulations of wealth or extent of domains do not center in the hands of a few grandees.

During our continuance at Stockholm, one day excepted, in which it snowed, we enjoyed as fine spring weather as I ever experienced in England. This favourable state of the atmosphere

mosphere is exceedingly uncommon at so early a season in this Northern climate *, where frequently the snow remains upon the ground until the month of April; it was to us peculiarly agreeable, as it enabled us to make a few excursions into the adjacent country, which, although in many parts desolate and barren, is always rudely romantick; and frequently exhibits, amidst a magnificent assemblage of rocks, lakes, and forest, agreeable spots of corn and pasture, numerous villages, and farm-houses.

The academy of Sciences at Stockholm owes its institution to six persons of distinguished learning, amongst whom was the celebrated Linnæus: they originally met on the 2d of June, 1739, formed a private society, in which some dissertations were read, and in the latter end of the same year their first publication made its appearance. As the meetings continued and the members increased, the society attracted the notice of the king, and was, on the 31st of March, 1741, incorporated under the name of the Royal Swedish Academy. Not receiving any pension from the crown, it is only under the protection of the king, being directed, like our Royal Society, by its own members. It has now a large fund, which has chiefly arisen from legacies and other donations; but a professor of experimental philosophy, and two secretaries, are still the only persons who receive any salaries. Each

* Stockholm is situated in 59 degrees 20 minutes of northern latitude.

Each of the members resident at Stockholm becomes president by rotation, and continues in office during three months. There are two species of members, native and foreign; the election of the former is held in April, and of the latter in July: no money is paid at the time of admission. The dissertations read at each meeting are collected and published four times in the year; they are written in the Swedish language, and printed in octavo, and the annual publications make a volume. The forty first volumes, which were finished in 1779, are called the Old Transactions; for in the following year the title was changed into that of New Transactions. The king is sometimes present at the ordinary meetings, and particularly at the annual assembly in April for the election of members. Any person who sends a treatise which is thought worthy of being printed, receives the transactions for that quarter *gratis*, and a silver medal, which is not esteemed for its value, being worth only three shillings, but for its rarity and the honour conveyed by it. All the papers relating to agriculture are put forth separately under the title of *Oeconomica acta*; of these three volumes have been already published in 1775, 1777, 1779. Annual *præmiums*, in money and gold medals, principally for the encouragement of agriculture and inland trade, are also distributed by the academy. The fund for these prizes is supplied from private donations.

Sweden contains the three universities of Upsala, Lund, and Abo; and twelve seminaries for the education of youth, called

Gymnasia, of which six were founded by Christina. In every large town there is also a school maintained at the expence of the crown, in which boys generally continue until they have attained the age of eleven, when they are sent to the *Gymnasia*, and from thence, at about sixteen, to one of the universities. In the *Gymnasia*, and many of the greater schools, the Greek, Latin, and Hebrew languages are taught. The bishops inspect these seminaries and schools in their respective dioceses, in which they are bound to reside.

Before my departure from Stockholm I was introduced to a native of Lapland, who had received his education in the university of Upsala, and was a person of considerable knowledge: his name is Oehrling; he was born in the village of Ariepley, which is situated to the west of the Gulf of Finland. He was at that time employed in compiling a Lapland, Swedish, and Latin Dictionary, which was published at Stockholm in 1780; a work highly useful, and extremely curious, to all persons versed in the study of languages *. Mr. Oehrling spoke the Latin and French tongues with great fluency: I had the satisfaction of conversing with him, and received from him the following information relative to Lapland and its inhabitants.

The

* *Lexicon Lapponicum cum Interpretatione Vocabulorum Sueco-Latina et Indice Suecano Lapponico illustratum Praefatione Latino-Suecana Johannis Ihre, nec non auctum Grammatical Lapponica a Dom. Erico Lindah, et Johanne Oehrling.*

The Laplanders call themselves Salme-Same, and Samen-Almatjeh. Their country they denominate Same-Landa, or Same-aednam; the Swedes style it Lapland or Lappmarken, and the inhabitants Lappar. The natives of those districts under the dominion of Sweden or Denmark are Lutherans; while many of those who are subject to Russia are still Pagans. Swedish Lapland contains about eight churches, which in some parts lie at so great a distance from each other, that a native is frequently obliged to travel three days in order to attend divine service. Lapland, in general, is a vast region, but very thinly peopled. Near the Gulf the country is composed chiefly of granite rock, or is strewed over with detached masses of that stone. The whole face of the inland is overspread with immense tracks of forest, consisting chiefly of firs, larch, and small beech, interspersed with numerous lakes which abound with fish. It yields pasture, and affords some corn, chiefly rye and buck-wheat; and is capable of producing a greater quantity, if more of the natives could be induced to leave their wandering way of life, and cultivate the ground. The winter is very long and tedious, lasting nearly nine months: the snow frequently begins to fall towards the latter end of August, and remains upon the ground till the middle of May. The people are partly settled, and in part wild and roving: the latter live in tents made with coarse cloth; the former are fixed in small villages near the lakes, and chiefly follow fishing. They build their

cottages somewhat in the shape of a cone, by placing a circle of large trees or poles aslant in the earth, and close to each other, so that their tops meet, and form a small vent for the issue of the smoke: they cover the ground within with branches of trees. In summer their clothes are made of coarse cloth; in winter of the skins of rein-deer *. In spring their

* In the Flora Lapponica Linnæus says, " Perhaps the
 " curious reader will wonder how the people in Lapland, du-
 " ring the terrible cold that reigns there in winter, can pre-
 " serve their lives; since almost all birds, and even some
 " wild beasts, desert it at that time. The Laplander, not on-
 " ly in the day, but through the whole winter nights, is
 " obliged to wander about in the woods with his herds of
 " rein-deer. For the rein-deer never come under cover, nor
 " eat any kind of fodder, but a particular kind of *liverwort*.
 " On this account the herdsmen are under a necessity of liv-
 " ing continually in the woods, in order to take care of their
 " cattle, lest they should be devoured by wild beasts. The
 " Laplander easily does without more light, as the snow re-
 " flects the rays that come from the stars, and as the *Aurora*
 " *Borealis* illuminates the air every night with a great variety
 " of figures. No part of our body is more easily destroyed
 " by cold than the extremities of the limbs, which are most
 " remote from the sun of this microcosm, the heart. The
 " kibes that happen to our hands and feet, so common in the
 " northern parts of Sweden, prove this. In Lapland you
 " will never see such a thing, although, were we to judge by
 " the situation of the country, we should imagine just the
 " contrary, especially as the people wear no stockings, as we
 " do, not only single, but double and triple. The Laplander
 " guards himself against the cold in the following manner.
 " He wears breeches made of rein-deer skins with the hair
 " on, reaching down to his heels, and shoes made of the
 " same materials, the hairy part turned outwards. He puts
 " into his shoes *slender-eared broad-leaved cyperus grass, carex*
 " *versicaria, Spec. Pl.* (or the Bladder Carex) that is cut in
 " summer and dried. This he first combs, and rubs in his
 " hands, and then places it in such a manner, that it not on-
 " ly covers his feet quite round, but his legs also; and being
 " thus guarded, he is quite secured against the intense cold.
 " With this grass they stuff their gloves likewise, in order to
 " preserve their hands. As this grass keeps off the cold in
 " winter,

their food consists principally of the eggs of water fowl, which are extremely plentiful in those parts; in summer and autumn of the birds themselves, and of various others of the partridge-tribe †; and in winter of the milk and flesh of the rein-deer, and dried fish: bread, which till very lately was totally unknown to them, now makes a part of their usual

“ winter, so in summer it hinders the feet from sweating, and
 “ at the same time preserves them from being annoyed by
 “ striking against stones, &c. for their shoes are very thin,
 “ being made, not of tanned leather, but the raw hide.”
 Stillingfleet's Tracts, p. 137, 138.

† “ About autumn, when the lakes of Lapland begin to
 “ freeze, the water-fowl, which are found there in great
 “ abundance, migrate towards the South; and upon the first
 “ opening of the spring they return in large flocks to their
 “ prior habitations, where they find a plentiful subsistence
 “ from the grubs of the gnats. These grubs too serve for
 “ the food of the *tetraones* or partridge tribe, thousands
 “ whereof, and even myriads, are daily taken, and sent to
 “ Stockholm. These birds are caught in such large quanti-
 “ ties by the Laplanders, as to supply them with their ordi-
 “ nary provision in autumn, as the eggs of the water-fowl
 “ are their support in spring.” Holberg.

“ These who have not seen it, will scarce believe what
 “ numbers of water-fowl are to be met with upon this river,
 “ to which the lakes give its name; and my water-men would
 “ every now and then put in to shore, to look for the eggs
 “ of wild ducks and geese amongst the reeds, which grow
 “ here and there upon the river side, or in the little islands
 “ which in several places are formed in the middle of the ri-
 “ ver, and that after the manner of the Laplanders, who get
 “ vast quantities of these eggs, and of the wild fowl too,
 “ when in season, as the old ones in winter, and the goslings
 “ and young ducks in summer, which they have several ways
 “ of killing; but the most common, and what they are most
 “ expert at, is the shooting them with their arrows, as they
 “ do their land; and indeed the Laplanders are such excel-
 “ lent archers, and their prey is so very plenty, that should
 “ one of them go out a shooting for two hours, and not
 “ bring home a load of game, he would certainly conclude
 “ that some enchanter who bore him a grudge had, out of
 “ mere spite, spoiled his sport.” Motraye's Travels, vol. II.
 p. 301.

usual diet. In winter they journey in small sledges made in the form of boats drawn by rein-deer. Those animals will travel almost the whole day without food, and only occasionally moisten their mouths with the snow: they do not, however, draw the sledge with such swiftness as is generally imagined, their common pace being at the rate of about 4 miles in the hour*. In summer they feed upon grasses and alpine plants, in winter upon the *Lichen rangiferinus* †, or rein-deer lichen, and its varieties which are so abundant as in many parts almost totally to cover the ground for the space of several miles ‡, and which the sagacious

* “ Most of the rein-deer used for draught are castrated when very young, and are larger and fatter than the bucks: In the winter the Laplanders drive their castrated deer in their sledges: they harness them by a rope fastened to a collar, and carried between their legs; and direct them by means of a bridle fastened to their horns. Each deer can draw the weight of one person, but rarely more. If he is pressed, he will travel ten or twelve Swedish miles (70 or 84 English miles), but by such hard driving is generally destroyed. It, however, frequently happens that he will persevere in his journey 30 miles without intermission, and without taking any refreshment. He is weak in the back, being fatigued with the weight even of a saddle: for which reason the Laplanders, whenever they travel in summer, and sledges cannot be used, lay across the animal's back a pole, upon which they fasten a small burden.” See Holberg's Account of the *Cerus Tarandus* in *Amœndit. Academ.* Vol. I. p. 169.

† For the æconomical and scientific description of this Lichen, the reader is referred to Lightfoot's *Flora Scotica*, vol. II. p. 877. Hagen's *Tentamen Historiæ Lichenum*, P. exxvi. and particularly to Linnæi *Flora Lapponica*, p. 332, from whose accurate and comprehensive account subsequent authors have principally derived their information.

‡ “ Nullum vegetabile in totâ Lapponiâ tantâ in copiâ reperitur ac hæc Lichenis species, et quidem primario in sylvis, ubi campi steriles arenosi vel glareosi, paucis pinis confiti,

sagacious animal discovers under the snow by the peculiar acuteness of its smell. My informer added, that the Laplanders, before their conversion to Christianity, which was not till lately introduced amongst them, possessed no books or manuscripts, though they knew many traditional histories and songs of ancient heroes and princes, who once reigned over them; but involved in great uncertainty, and mixed with the most fabulous accounts. They have now a translation of the New Testament in their language; and many of the natives are able to read and write. Upon my questioning him about the Lapland tongue, he answered with some diffidence, "that though he imagined we are in general too apt to form an hasty opinion of two languages being derived from the same stock, because a few words in both are similar, when perhaps the idiom and construction are totally opposite; nevertheless, there appeared to him sufficient reasons for concluding that the Finnish and Lapland tongues were dialects only of one and the same original." But what was most remarkable, he was of opinion, that the Lapland idiom had an undoubted affinity with the Hungarian; for Sainovits, a learned Jesuit, and a native of Hungary, who had accompanied the celebrated astronomer, Father Hell, into Lapland, to observe the Transit of Venus, has demon-

"*siti, ibi enim non modo videbis campos per spatium unius*
" horæ, sed sæpe duorum triumve miliarium, nivis instar al-
" bos, solo fere hocce Lichene obductas. Sic natura septen-
" trionis quasi inclinât in albedinem, frigoris amasiam Flora
" Lapon."

demonstrated * that the Hungarian and Lapland idioms are the same: and he himself hath likewise put forth a treatise † upon the same subject. I regretted that time would not permit the learned Laplander to enter into a detail of all the reasons which had induced him to adopt this hypothesis; but we may conclude, that strong probability lies on this side of the question, when we find two natives, of Hungary, and of Lapland, both men of letters, and both well versed in their own dialects, affirming it from their own conviction, without any intercourse or collusion. Having both treatises in my possession, which are extremely rare, I shall comprise, in a short compass, the arguments which seem to prove the similarity of the two languages.

It must not be supposed that a Laplander entering Hungary, or an Hungarian travelling into Lapland, would be immediately understood by the natives: for though the inhabitants of these two countries should be unquestionably allowed to be branches from the same ‡ stock; yet as the separation from that original took place at a time when they had no alphabet, it must necessarily follow, from the gradual change which all languages necessarily

* Johannis Sainovits, &c. Demonstratio idioma Ungarorum et Lapponum idem esse.

† Dissertatio Academica de convenientiâ Linguae Hungaricæ cum Lapponicâ.

‡ No person in the least conversant in the study of languages presumes to doubt that the English, German, Dutch, Swedish, and Danish are all derived from the antient Gothick or Teutonical, and yet these different nations do not understand each other.

arily undergo in the lapse of time, and by the adoption of words from the neighbouring nations, that each people could never have retained separately *all* the primitive characteristics of their original tongue; it is sufficient, if, in the general mode of pronunciation, in the similarity of many words, and in the grammatical structure of the phrases, both nations retain a strong degree of resemblance; and thus much appears to be the case in the Hungarian and Lapland idioms.

In the first place, the pronunciation of the Lapland tongue is so extremely peculiar and difficult, that a Swede or Dane, unless educated from their infancy in the country, can never attain it; whereas Sainovits was able to catch the genuine accent without the least difficulty, although, before his arrival in the country, he had not the least acquaintance with their language; the articulation in many respects being so perfectly familiar to him, that, to use his own expression, "while he heard them conversing, he thought he was in his own country *."

The next proof of their affinity rests upon the similarity of particular words plainly proceeding from the same stock. Of these Sainovits has given a vocabulary, comprising 150 common to both, and whose resemblance cannot be doubted. As these expressions fell
under

* "Interea, quamvis Lapponibus, voces enuncianti modus singularis prorsus sit, mihi tamen ita familiaris accipit, ut, dum ipsos sermocinantes audirem, in Patria, inter Ungaros me versari crederem," p. 14.

under his observation during a short residence in the country, it is probable that, if he had continued there a longer time, he would have discovered many more.

The two idioms are further demonstrated to be the same from a surprising agreement in the declension of nouns, in the comparison of adjectives, in a peculiar use of numerals, pronouns, affixes, suffixes, and prepositions, in the mode of conjugating verbs, and in the auxiliary verbs; for in all these circumstances the two people differ as much from the nations bordering upon both, as they are analogous to each other; "So that we may venture to conclude," adds Oehrling, "that the German does not approach nearer to the Swedish, or the Chaldean to the Hebrew, than the Lapland to the Hungarian."

From these premises the same ingenious author concludes, "that the Laplanders are undoubtedly descended from the Huns, although the precise time in which they separated from the other branches of that numerous nation cannot be ascertained." He ventures, however, to conjecture, that some of those people penetrated into these regions long before the Huns, under Attila and his successors, occupied Pannonia, since called from them Hungary; that they probably inhabited the southern parts of Sweden, and being driven towards the north by the Goths under Oden, retired to the almost impervious mountains and inclement cold of Lapland,

Lapland, where they were no longer pursued by their invaders. Being settled in those parts, their language, by a perpetual intercourse with the Swedes and Norwegians, became gradually intermixed with foreign words, and split into different dialects; still retaining, however, evident traces of the original spoken by the Huns*, of whom they were a branch.

C H A P. III.

Arsenal of Stockholm.—Clothes and hat worn by Charles XII. when he was killed at the siege of Frederickshall.—Inquiry into the circumstances and occasion of his death.

THE arsenal of Stockholm contains an immense number of standards and trophies, taken chiefly from the Imperialists, Poles, Russians, and Danes. Many of these standards were supplied by Gustavus Adolphus, Banier, Torstenson, and Wrangel, by Charles Gustavus, but principally by Charles XII. whose

* The Huns, before they penetrated into Hungary, inhabited the inland parts of Siberia, and from those quarters they probably passed through European Russia, Livonia, Esthonia, Finland, and Sweden. In Livonia and Esthonia a language similar to the Finnish still exists, as well as among several tribes of Siberia, an idiom which has great affinity with the Hungarian, still prevails.

whose military achievements proved the ruin of his country; nor could I avoid remarking, that while this collection proudly displayed the trophies of Narva, the Russians possess Narva itself, with all Livonia, and other provinces dismembered from Sweden.

Among other curiosities, I observed the skin of the horse stuffed which carried Gustavus Adolphus at the battle of Lutzen, where he received his death; a boat made by Peter the Great at Sardam in Holland, and taken by a Swedish vessel as it was conveying by sea to Petersburgh; and, what particularly attracted my notice, the clothes and hat worn by Charles XII. when he was shot in the trenches before Frederickshall. As many various reports have been spread relative to the death of that monarch, and as proofs that he was assassinated have been attempted to be drawn from the state of those clothes, and particularly of his hat, I examined them with peculiar attention.

The coat is a plain blue uniform, like that of a common soldier; the stockings are sown to the breeches: his boots are thick and large; his gloves are of white leather, stiff-topped, and reaching almost to the elbow: the right-hand glove is considerably stained with blood, the left only sprinkled with a few drops; part of a buff belt, which he wore round his waist, is also bloody. I mention these circumstances, because it renders probable what has been asserted, that upon receiving the shot he instantly applied his right-hand to the wound in his temple, and then to his sword.

The

The hat bears the appearance of having been slightly grazed by the ball in that part which immediately covered his temple*. I was informed, by a person who has had frequent opportunities of observing it, that the original mark was at first very indistinct, but has been so handled and rent by those who have continually examined it, as to have been considerably enlarged. As the shot, therefore, did not pierce through, but only grazed the hat, the size of the ball, upon which so much has been made to depend, cannot be ascertained from this circumstance. It follows therefore from this simple description, which I noted down on the spot, that, from any appearances either in the clothes, or hat, the slightest inference cannot be deduced in regard to the so much agitated question, Whether Charles XII. fell by a ball from the Danish batteries, or by the hand of an assassin.

I shall subjoin to this account an inquiry into the particulars of his death; in the course

* This circumstance has given rise to an argument in favour of his being assassinated: for, say the advocates on this side of the question, if, upon receiving the shot, he instantly touched the wound, and then grasped his sword, it seems to imply that he must have seen the person who discharged the piece at him, and put himself into an attitude of defence. And it is certain, from the account of Philgren, who saw the body, that he had absolutely drawn the sword half out of the scabbard, and that the hilt was so tightly grasped by the right hand as not to be removed without difficulty. But surely, if the king really saw the person who discharged the piece, and meant to defend himself, he would first have grasped the sword before he had received the shot; and if he first touched the wound, and then grasped the hilt of the sword, it was a mere instantaneous impulse, and must have been so sudden as to have no reference to an attempt of defending himself.

course of which some new lights may, perhaps, be thrown upon this curious subject; and some anecdotes introduced probably unknown to the English reader.

On the 30th of November, 1718, Charles XII. visited his trenches at the siege of Frederickshall in Norway; advanced as far as a bastion, which he mounted; and, leaning his arm upon the parapet, seemed to examine the progress of the works. The Danish batteries were playing upon the trenches, and continued a constant fire with great and small shot, to which the king exposed himself, as usual, without the least caution; in that attitude he received a ball in his temple, fell upon the parapet, and instantly expired. There were with him two French officers, Maigret, the engineer, who conducted the siege, and Siquier, his aid-de-camp. Behind, at some distance, were, amongst others, count Schwerin, who commanded the trenches; count Possè, captain of the guards; and Culbert, an aid-de-camp. According to Voltaire*, the two Frenchmen, seeing the king fall, and hearing him utter at the same time a deep sigh, approached and found him dead. Motraye† relates, that Maigret had ineffectually endeavoured to dissuade his majesty from remaining in so dangerous a place, and that, having consulted with Schwerin and Culbert, he returned to draw him away by stratagem; finding

* Voltaire, who was probably informed of these circumstances from Siquier himself. See Hist. de Charles XII. p. 341.

† Voyages de Motraye, Vol. II. p. 396. Nordberg's Hist. de Charles XII. p. 358.

finding him leaning upon the parapet, he supposed him to be asleep; but perceiving that he continued motionless, an alarm was given to the officers, who came with a light, and discerned that he was dead. Nordberg's account corresponds in general with that given by Motraye. It being determined to conceal the fatal accident, Siquier, who was devoted to the prince of Hesse, took off the king's hat, covered the head with his own wig and hat; and wrapping the body in a grey cloak, ordered it to be transported to his quarters, as that of an officer, who was just killed. Siquier himself flew without delay to the prince of Hesse, "who was quartered at Torpum, "about the distance of three quarters* of a "mile. The prince was at supper," writes a page who was present †, "with "some generals and officers. Siquier, without being announced, approached and "whispered the prince; the latter did the "same to the person who sat next to him; "and the whisper being circulated round the "company in the same manner, the prince "retired from table, and gave immediate orders for post-horses." "I followed," adds the same person, "the officers to the place "where the king was killed. The prince "ordered the generals and officers who were "present to place the body in a litter prepared to convey it to the head quarters. One "and

* Probably of a Swedish mile, which is equal to $6\frac{1}{2}$ English miles.

† This account is taken from the narrative of Philgren, a page to the prince of Hesse, who was that day in waiting. See Von Karls XII. Tode & in Schloetzer's Briefwechsel, vol. I. p. 230.

“ and twenty soldiers standing around with
“ wax tapers in their hands; we observed
“ that the king, in the agonies of death,
“ had drawn his sword half out of the scab-
“ bard, and that the hilt was so tightly grasp-
“ ed by the right hand, as not to be disen-
“ gaged without difficulty. The body was
“ no sooner removed than the prince held a
“ council with the officers, when it was de-
“ termined to raise the siege, and to dispatch
“ field-marshal Ducker to Sandsborg, in or-
“ der to prevent any one from passing to the
“ enemy, and spreading the report of the
“ king's death: but this precaution was too
“ late, as that very night a Swedish lieute-
“ nant, accompanied by a drummer, went
“ over the Glomma to the enemy, and ac-
“ quainted them with the king's death.”

From these circumstances we have no rea-
son to suppose that the king was assassinated,
but rather that he received his wound from
one of the Danish batteries. Let us then
examine the reasons which have induced
many persons to assert that he was killed by
treachery; and that Frederick prince of Hesse,
who had espoused his youngest sister Ulrica
Eleonora and was soon afterwards raised to
the throne, was not wholly unsuspected of
being concerned in his death.

The duke of Holstein, son of Hedwige,
eldest sister of Charles XII. was the undoubt-
ed heir to the crown, and would, according
to the opinion of his minister Bassevitz, have
succeeded, if he had immediately shown him-
self to the troops.

“ The

" The duke was in the camp. Charles
 " had brought him to the army in that se-
 " vere campaign in order to form him to war.
 " Upon the first news of the king's death,
 " the young prince retired to his tent over-
 " whelmed with affliction. The generals
 " who were attached to him, in vain de-
 " manded admittance. Duker conjured his
 " favourite Roepstorf, that he would persuade
 " him to appear before the troops, and of-
 " fered to proclaim him upon the spot. Ro-
 " epstorf gained admittance to his master, but
 " soon returned with an answer, that he
 " was too much affected to hold conversation
 " with any one. ' If he will not act,' says
 " Duker, ' affairs must go as they can.'

" This delay was the safety of the Swedish
 " liberty. For how would the nation have
 " dared to propose the suppression of abso-
 " lute authority, in opposition to a king who
 " had been proclaimed by the army, and was
 " already in possession of all the prerogatives
 " enjoyed by his predecessor *." Another †
 account informs us, " that several of the Swe-
 " dish generals tendered the crown to the
 " duke, upon the condition of renouncing
 " absolute power ; but that he refused to be
 " bound by any restrictions."

The conduct of the prince of Hesse was
 far more politick. Having disposed of the
 king's body, he issued immediate orders to ar-

Vol. III.

K

rest

* Memoires de Bassevitz in Busching, H. M. IX. p. 321.

† Schloetzer's Briefwechsel, vol. I. p. 151.

rest baron Gortz †, as if already in possession of sovereign authority; and dispatched Si-quier to his consort Ulrica Eleonora at Stockholm. That princess was no sooner informed of her brother's death, than she summoned the senate, with whom she had for some time entertained a secret correspondence, and agreeing to renounce all right to the crown by hereditary succession, and to subscribe to the limitation of regal power, she was afterwards

† The arrest of Baron Gortz was attended with many curious circumstances, which are related by Philgren, who accompanied the officers that arrested him; but the account is too long to be inserted in this work. See Gortzen's *Gefangenemung* in Schloetzer, vol. I. p. 231. to 243.

The real cause of the Baron's imprisonment and execution was his attachment to the duke of Holstein, which neither Frederick nor Ulrica Eleonora could forgive; to their revenge, and to the cabals of a party, he fell a sacrifice. Posterity, however, has done justice to the integrity of this great, but turbulent statesman; and particularly the present king of Sweden has paid a tribute of praise to his memory, in the following letter to his daughter Madame D'Eyben. See Schloetzer Theil. XI. p. 109. “ Madame la Baronne D'Eyben. “ La memoire de l'illustre et malheureux Baron de Gortz est “ trop respectée de moi, pour que je n'aye été très sensible- “ ment touché d'apprendre, qu'il existoit encore un de ses en- “ fans, que la tyrannie et l'injustice atroce de la princess Ul- “ rique Eleonore, et de ceux qui presidèrent à la diete de 1719, “ rendirent orphelins. Son sang innocent a trop long-temps “ crié vengeance. La Suede a pendant 50 ans de malheurs, “ de devastations et de troubles païé chèrement le tribut, que “ la colere divine a exigé pour le crime, commis contre un “ grand homme innocent, pour que je souhaite ardemment, “ en qualité de *premier citoyen de ma patrie*, reparer au nom “ de cette même patrie, l'injustice que nos ancêtres ont com- “ mis. A ce titre que je regarde comme le plus beau de tous “ ceux, que la Providence a bien voulu assembler sur ma tête, “ s'ajoute encore celui de ma maison, pour la quelle il a été un “ sacrifice. Vous devés donc bien juger, Madame, combien “ je suis porté de vous faire rendre la justice, que vous re- “ clamés en qualité d'heritière et de fille de feu Baron de “ Gortz, &c. &c. ce 28 d. Octobre, 1773.”

least
†
quel
lavo
étoit

wards elected queen; but resigned, in 1721, the crown to her husband.

The account of the king's death, published by order of the court soon after the event, enters into no details, but attributes it to a ball shot from a falconet*. Motraye affirms†, that this relation was probably true, because the wound was large enough to admit four fingers; and Voltaire, who received his information from Siquier, asserts, that it was made by a ball of half a pound weight, and large enough to contain three fingers; and they both agree, that from the violence of the shot the left eye was forced in, and the right dislodged from its socket. In contradiction, however, to these authorities, two persons who had seen the body, positively affirm, that the wound was too small to have been occasioned by a shot from a falconet or half falconet.

Count Liewen, in a conversation with Mr. Wraxall, thus expressed himself upon the subject.

“ There are now very few men alive who can
 “ speak with so much certainty as myself. I
 “ was in the camp before Frederickshall, and had
 “ the honour to serve the king in quality of page
 “ on that night when he was killed. I have
 “ no doubt that he was assassinated. The night
 “ was extremely dark, and it was almost an im-

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“ possibility

* A ball of a falconet usually weighs one pound and $\frac{1}{2}$ at least.

† Large de quatre doigts. Motraye.—Un trou dans lequel on pouvoit enfoncer trois doigts. Voltaire—Une balle l'avoit atteint à la temple droite avec tant de violence, qu'elle étoit ressortie au dessus de la temple gauche. Nordberg.

“ possibility that a ball from the fort could enter his
 “ head at the distance, and on the spot where he
 “ stood. I saw the king’s body, and am certain
 “ the wound in his temple was made by a pistol-
 “ bullet. Who gave it, is unknown : Siker was
 “ suspected, because he was not with his majesty
 “ previous to the blow, but appeared a moment
 “ after. Those,” added he, “ who are used to mi-
 “ litary affairs, know the report and noise which a
 “ cannon-ball makes ; but the report of the shot
 “ which destroyed the king was that of a piece close
 “ at hand, and totally different. I do not believe
 “ the prince of Hesse was concerned, or privy to it
 “ in any degree ; but the belief that he was put to
 “ death by a private hand was general in the army
 “ at that time*.”

The next evidence is captain Carlberg,
 who assisted in conveying the body from
 the trenches ; this officer died at Gotheborg
 about a month before I arrived at that town ;
 and in repeated conversations with several
 English merchants from whom I received the
 anecdote, constantly asserted that the wound
 was given by a musket or pistol.

In answer to these assertions, may it not
 be asked, whether count Liewen and captain
 Carlberg had any opportunity of examining
 the wound with that attention necessary to
 form a decisive opinion ? and if they did,
 whether the size of gun-shot wounds does
 not exceedingly vary according to the velo-
 city of the ball, and the place which it
 strikes ?

But should we even allow, that the piece
 from which the king received his death was
 not

* Wraxall’s Tour, p. 141.

not larger than a musket, the next circumstance for inquiry is, whether a musket-shot could have reached him from the ramparts of Frederickshall, or from any of the adjoining batteries? That this is probable will appear from consulting the plan of Frederickshall in Motraye, who had visited the place; for the parapet on which the king was leaning is only 180 yards from the ramparts, and about 800 from the battery, from which he conjectures that he was killed. As a random musket-bullet will often take effect at 800, or even 1000 yards, the king might have been struck in this manner, and still more probably by small or grape-shot discharged from a cannon.

Many persons have been suspected of being concerned in the supposed assassination: Siquier principally, because he was near Charles at the time of his death, covered the body from inspection, immediately carried the news to the prince of Hesse, and, by hastening to Stockholm, secured the crown to the princess Ulrica Eleonora. His conduct in these instances, however, affords no positive evidence either against himself or Frederick; for both would have acted in the same manner from common policy, whether the Swedish monarch was killed by accident, or by their treachery. Unfortunately, however, Siquier himself, in 1722, being at Stockholm, in a delirium, occasioned by a fever, opened the window of his apartment, and exclaimed, that he had murdered Charles XII; but no
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one gave any credit to the confession of a person who was then in a state of insanity.

Suspensions fell upon Maigret the engineer, merely because he was present in the trenches ; and also upon general Renshold, who is said to have employed the murderer ; but this report had no foundation, and seems to have chiefly arisen from his activity in supporting the party of the senate for limiting the sovereign authority, and in placing Ulrica Eleonora upon the throne.

It is evident from a passage in Bruce's *Memoirs** that a belief of the king's assassination was generally received.

“ As I was dining, he says, “ at an ordinary one day, “ with several of my acquaintance, there happened to “ be at the table a Swedish colonel, and a lieutenant colonel, who was born dumb, but notwithstanding that misfortune, had been a great favourite with the late king of Sweden. While “ we were at dinner, the governor's aid-de-camp “ came in, and addressing himself to the Swedish “ colonel, ordered him, in the emperor's name, to “ leave Riga immediately, otherwise he would be “ proceeded against as a traitor. The Swede immediately getting up from the table, quitted the “ room pale and trembling. On our enquiring into “ the reason of this sudden order to the colonel, we “ were informed that he was suspected of having “ shot the late king of Sweden in the trenches before Frederickshall. It seems that some of the “ company had, by signs, made the dumb lieutenant-colonel understand the affair, on which he “ ran after him with his sword drawn, and, but for “ the interposition of the aid-de-camp and some “ others with him, he would certainly have killed “ the

“ the colonel, who was safely conducted over the
“ river Dwina, which divides Livonia from Courland,
“ and was followed by his servants and baggage.
“ It was observed, that while he resided in Riga,
“ large remittances had come to him from Stock-
“ holm, which made it generally suspected that he
“ had been highly bribed to commit the regicide.
“ The colonel made haste to get into Poland, in-
“ tending to pass through that kingdom into Tur-
“ key, where he was well acquainted, having at-
“ tended the king of Sweden all the time that
“ prince resided in Bender; but as he was no more
“ heard of, it was generally thought he had been
“ murdered in Poland.”

Bruce does not mention the name of this colonel; but his account seems, in some measure, to corroborate the opinion of many persons in Sweden, that if the king was treacherously put to death, it is highly probable that the murder was committed by a Swede. At a diet, which met in September, 1772, soon after the revolution, a nobleman, whose name was Ingham, used these mysterious expressions: “ The liberty which has been so
“ much extolled, always carried to excess,
“ and to which we have so long been enslav-
“ ed, perhaps at its commencement did not
“ occasion any real blessings. It is a conjec-
“ ture which excites horror, an *opprobrium*
“ from which I wish we could entirely excul-
“ pate ourselves, namely, that the life of our
“ Northern hero Charles XII—But I tremble;
“ he was upon the point of recovering the
“ losses of the state. Posterity will dare to
“ expatiate upon this much to be lamented
“ event.” It appears from these words, as if
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the speaker conceived that the partizans for a limited monarchy had occasioned the death of Charles, in order to establish a new form of government; and he alluded to the following anecdote.

A Swedish officer, whose name is Cronstedt, is said to have owned, upon his death-bed, to his confessor Tolstadius, that he was concerned in the murder of Charles XII.; and the confessor afterwards drew up an account of this declaration, which was delivered to the king and senate, and is now preserved in the archives. I could not learn the particulars of this account; but was informed in general, that Cronstedt * affirmed he only loaded the piece, and that Shernrose, who died lieutenant-general and colonel of the guards, was the person who fired it, standing at a small distance behind the king; and it is likewise asserted, that Shernrose, in his last illness, acknowledged his guilt. The queen dowager of Sweden, whose curiosity was excited by all these reports, descended a few years ago into the vault which contains the body of Charles. Upon examining the wounds, one whereof was in the back of his head, and the other in the left temple, she found that the latter was the

* It may not be improper to mention in this place, that Cronstedt is said to have been out of his senses before he died; and if so, his confession deserves no more credit than that of Siquier. Another madman likewise acknowledged himself to be the king's assassin. Fabricius, who is mentioned as a great favourite of Charles XII. died in England in a delirium; and he assured Miller, the celebrated botanist, with whom he was intimately acquainted, that he assassinated the Swedish monarch. I received this anecdote from a gentleman who had it from Mr. Miller himself.

the greater; whence it was concluded, that the ball went in behind and came out before, from the well-known effect of gun-shot wounds, whose entering orifice is always the smallest. I may likewise venture to add, that her majesty, after weighing all the circumstances on both sides, was of opinion that the king was assassinated.

It appeared probable to some persons, from several particulars in the confession of Cronstedt, as if he had been employed by Frederick I. and it is still believed by many at Stockholm, that Frederick, upon the approach of death, raved about Charles XII. and expressed great remorse and compunction on his account,

In mentioning these anecdotes, I beg leave to request that they may be considered merely as reports, upon which other persons, who shall have an opportunity of obtaining more precise information, may build their inquiries; as my intention was to throw together all the intelligence I could collect concerning the death of Charles the XII.; in order to enable the reader to draw the conclusion which shall seem the most probable.

Upon reviewing the principal circumstances in this mysterious affair, if we are convinced that the king's wound was that of a musket or pistol ball, and yet that he was not in a situation to be reached by such a shot from the enemy's batteries; and that though the belief of his being unfairly put to death was general in the army, yet no inquiry was made; if we imagine the evidence of Liewen and Carlsberg
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are to be absolutely relied upon, and particularly the assertion of the former, that the report of the piece which destroyed the king was that of a pistol; if we can suppose the confession of Cronstedt and Shernrose to be genuine; the remorse of Frederick to be sincere and well attested; if we think the opinion of the queen dowager sufficient to convince our judgement; we must necessarily conclude that Charles XII. was assassinated. On the contrary, if we believe that the wound was so large that it must have been occasioned by a ball from a falconet; or half falconet; or if not, that the king was liable to be reached by a musket ball; if we see no glaring contradictions between the account published by the court, and the relations made by those who were in the trenches at the time when he fell; or if we think that the latter persons may have been mistaken in some material circumstances; if we can reconcile the conduct of Frederick as being merely dictated by policy, and such as would have been adopted by any person in the same situation, though he were not accessory to the murder: if to these considerations we add the natural propensity of mankind to attribute the death of extraordinary personages to extraordinary causes; that those who have once framed an hypothesis will imperceptibly warp all events in its support; and that until positive proofs, not merely drawn from flying reports and uncertain anecdotes, are established, we ought undoubtedly to lean to the side of candour and humanity, we ought not to credit surmises so injurious

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rious to characters otherwise without reproach, and we are bound to conclude that Charles XII. fell by the hand of the enemy, and not by treachery. And this opinion was likewise supported by the high authority of count Poniatowski *, the confidential friend of Charles XII.

C H A P. IV.

Changes in the form of the Swedish government.

—Inquiry into the nature of the constitution established at the Revolution of 1772.—The king a limited, and not an absolute monarch.—Diet composed of the king and states.—I. House of nobles.—II. Of the clergy.—III. Of citizens.—IV. Of peasants.—Mode of enacting laws,

THE form of the Swedish government has frequently varied. Before the accession of the house of Vasa in the person of Gustavus I. it was a monarchy wholly elective, and laboured under all the evils that are inseparable from that most defective species of sovereignty. By the Union of Calmar, which took place in 1397, it was stipulated, that the same monarch was to rule over Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, and to be chosen by the deputies from the states of those three kingdoms assembled

* As I had the honour of being informed by the present king of Poland.

bled at Calmar. Throughout the whole period in which these regulations subsisted, Sweden was a mere tributary kingdom to the sovereigns of Denmark; or, in its temporary exertions to shake off that yoke, drew on itself all the horrors of foreign invasion and intestine discord. From this state of alternate oppression and anarchy it was rescued by Gustavus Vasa, on whom the gratitude of the Swedes conferred the dominion of that country which he had delivered; they even renounced in his favour the right of electing their kings, and declared the crown hereditary in his male issue. The form of government established at his accession, though in appearance of a mixed nature, and though it lodged the supremacy in the assembly of the states, yet entrusted very extensive prerogatives to the king.

These powers, transmitted to his immediate posterity with little diminution, were augmented under Gustavus Adolphus; and at the same time the right of succession was extended to the female line. But, during the minority of his daughter Christina, the government underwent an alteration unfavourable to regal authority: the privileges of the senate, or council of state, being enlarged, gave the ascendancy to the aristocratical party, or order of nobles; and this power was, by continual encroachments, carried to such an exorbitant height as justly to excite the fears and indignation of the three other orders of the clergy, citizens, and peasants. At length, Charles XI. artfully availing himself
of

of this dissatisfaction, obtained from the states a formal cession of absolute sovereignty; which he quietly devolved upon his son Charles XII. Upon the decease of the latter, his nephew, Charles Frederick duke of Holstein, son of his eldest sister Hedwige, ought, by the law of succession established by Charles XI. to have ascended the throne. But the Swedes, in breach of that regulation, excluded the duke of Holstein, and conferred the crown upon Ulrica Eleonora, the youngest sister of Charles XII.; who, possessing no title but what was derived from the appointment of the nation, purchased her election by a surrender of absolute authority, and by ratifying all the limitations of prerogative which the states imposed; and her husband Frederick I. in whose favour she resigned the crown, secured their concurrence by similar stipulations.

The new form of government established at this juncture, consisted of fifty-one articles, all tending to abridge the powers of the crown, and rendered the Swedish sovereign the most limited monarch in Europe.

It was settled, that the supreme legislative authority should reside absolutely and solely in the states of the realm assembled in diet, which, whether convened by the king or not, must regularly assemble every three years, and could only be dissolved by their own consent. During the recess of the diet the executive power resided in the king and senate; but as the king was bound in all affairs to abide by the opinion of the majority; and

as he possessed only two votes, and the casting voice in case of equal suffrages, he was almost entirely subordinate to that body, and could be considered in no other light than its president*. At the same time the senate itself ultimately depended upon the states, as its members, though nominally appointed for life, yet were in a great measure chosen by the states†, were amenable before that assembly, and liable to be removed from their office

* Mr. Sheridan, in his History of the late Revolution, &c. has thus delineated the exorbitant authority vested in the states, p. 145. "While the states were assembled they were, in fact, possessed of the whole supreme power. The authority of the king and senate was then suspended, &c.—In short, the states were vested with the same powers, independent of the king and senate, that in England the two houses of parliament possess in conjunction with the king.

"The legislative power they reserved wholly to themselves. The king and senate, having no share whatever in it, did not even possess a negative on those resolutions of the diet, which directly attacked the regal and senatorial rights.—The following powers were likewise vested in the states alone. Those of declaring war or making peace. That of altering the standard of the coin, &c.

"The executive power, during the sitting of the diet, may be said to have been, in a great measure, lodged in a certain number of persons selected from the three orders of the nobles, clergy, and burghers, who constituted what was denominated the secret committee, &c. With regard to the judicial power, the states assumed to themselves a right of exercising that also, whenever they thought proper, by taking at pleasure causes out of the ordinary courts of justice, to try them before a temporary tribunal erected by themselves, and composed of their own members. Nothing could be more formidable than the power of this court, or more subversive of liberty; as, in reality, it united within itself at once the legislative, judicial, and executive powers; and it was to decide principally in cases of treason; what rendered this extraordinary jurisdiction most preposterous was, its being generally at the same time both judge and party."

† All vacancies in the state were filled by the king from three candidates nominated by the states.

fice in case of real or pretended malversation. Thus the supreme authority resided in a tumultuous assembly, composed of the four orders, into which many nobles without property, the meanest tradesmen and the lowest peasants, were admitted; most of whom were of course subject to all the corruption and influence to which needy and ignorant representatives are necessarily exposed. Although all statutes were signed by the king, and the ordinances of the senate issued in his name, yet in neither case did he possess a negative: and in order to obviate the possibility of his attempting to exercise that power, it was enacted, in the diet of 1756, that "in all affairs, without exception, which had hitherto required the sign manual, his majesty's name might be affixed by a stamp, whenever he should have declined his signature at the first or second request of the senate." In consequence of this resolution the royal signature was actually engraved, and applied to the ordinary dispatches of government under the direction of the senate*. In a word, the king enjoyed little more than the mere name of royalty. He was only the ostensible instrument in the hands of one of the two great parties who at that time divided and governed the kingdom, as either obtained the superior influence in the diet.

We cannot but remark upon this subject, that the Swedes, who, during the reigns of Charles XI. and XII. had so reluctantly submitted

* Sheridan, p. 188. Cantzler, p. 71.

mitted to the despotism of their sovereigns, knew not how to use their liberty : they intemperately ran into the contrary extreme ; and, in order to disable the king from recovering arbitrary power, they even despoiled him of those just and necessary prerogatives, which in a monarchical constitution can alone form a barrier against aristocratical usurpation and popular factions ; as if they were ignorant of any medium between absolute dominion and anarchy, or between licentiousness and servitude.

The gross defects in this new form of government occasioned constant struggles between the kings of Sweden and their subjects, on one side to increase, on the other to depress the royal prerogative, until his present majesty effected the revolution of 1772.

It is needless to enter into any detail of this extraordinary event, as Mr. Sheridan, who, at the period in question, was secretary to the British envoy at Stockholm, has given to the world a most ample and accurate detail of the whole transaction *. Persons of the most opposite parties in Sweden all unanimously concur in commending the fidelity of Mr. Sheridan's history, and in preferring it to the numerous narratives of that important event ; and the king has frequently acknowledged its general authenticity. The ingenious author has developed with the utmost precision and truth the dreadful abuses occasioned by the system of government established in 1720 ;
and

* A History of the late Revolution in Sweden, &c. by Charles Francis Sheridan, Esq.

and has traced, with a masterly hand, the judicious and spirited conduct of his present majesty.

But in this account of the new government, admirable as it is, he has unfortunately advanced a capital mistake, which, as it has fallen from a person of such respectable authority, and seems generally prevalent in all foreign countries, deserves a particular discussion. What I allude to is his assertion, that the king of Sweden is "no less absolute at Stockholm than the French monarch at Versailles, and the Grand Signor at Constantinople *;" whereas his Swedish majesty, though now possessed of very great prerogatives, is yet in many important instances a limited monarch, as will be ascertained by a review of the present constitution.

The whole executive power is virtually vested in the king: for though it is said to be entrusted to him conjointly with the senate, yet as his majesty appoints and removes all the members of that council, and in the administration of affairs asks only their advice, without being bound to follow it, he is absolute master of the senate †. The king has the

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command

* P. 301.

† Article 4th. In some few instances, however, namely, in the negotiations of peace, truces and alliances, the king is bound to follow the opinion of the senators, in case they are unanimous; but as it is scarcely possible that seventeen senators, appointed, and removable, by his majesty, should be unanimous in their opposition to him, we may fairly allow the king to have the command of the senate. Art. 6th.

In the high courts of justice, indeed, consisting of seven senators, to which a final appeal lies from all the inferior courts,

command of the army and navy, and fills up all commissions; he likewise nominates to all civil offices*. He has the sole power of convening and dissolving the states, and is not obliged to assemble them at any stated period §; he has rendered the taxes perpetual, enjoys a fixed revenue, and has the entire disposal of the publick money.

Such are the prerogatives which his Swedish majesty has annexed to his crown; but however enormous they may appear, especially when compared with the slender degree of authority possessed by the throne before that period, yet they by no means, I apprehend, amount to despotism. The two great features, which essentially distinguish an arbitrary from a limited monarch, are the uncontrouled right of enacting and repealing laws, and the imposition of taxes without consent of the subject; neither of which are exercised by the king of Sweden.

With respect to the former, the legislative authority resides jointly in him and in the states†; and it is expressly decreed, in the 40th article, that “the king shall have no power to make new laws, without the knowledge

courts, the king has only two voices, and a casting vote, if the opinions are equal. But yet, in this instance, as he nominates and removes at his pleasure their judges, he must have the entire disposal of their suffrages. Art. 8th. See the articles of the new form of government in the Appendix to this volume.

* Art. 6; also 22, 25, and 31.

§ Article 38.

† Mr. Sheridan is wrong, in saying that the states were to deliberate upon nothing but what the king thought proper to lay before them, they having a right, as well to propose laws, as to negative those proposed by the king. See Art. 42.

“ knowledge and assent of the states ; nor
 “ abrogate an old one received formerly †.”

Concerning the imposition of taxes, it is expressly stipulated, that the king shall not levy any money without the consent of the states, excepting in the case of actual invasion † ; and at the conclusion of the war he shall be obliged to summon them, and the new taxes shall be abolished. In addition also to these two important restrictions, he cannot declare war, nor alter the coin, without their concurrence ; and, if called upon by them when convened, is obliged to account for the expenditure of the publick money §.

Though the king is subject to these material limitations, yet as his ordinary revenue is perpetual, and the meeting of the states depends solely upon his pleasure ; it may be urged, that he may govern without controul as long as he requires no additional subsidies. But surely this mode of ruling does not amount to absolute authority. For, as he cannot enact laws, declare war, or levy taxes, without the consent of the diet, emergencies must occur

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which

† Art. 48.

† Mr. Sheridan, upon this article, says, “ By a third, though his majesty did not openly claim a power of imposing taxes on all occasions, yet such as already subsisted were to be perpetual, and in case of invasion or *pressing necessity*, the king might impose some taxes *till* the states could be assembled. But his majesty was to be the judge of this necessity ; and we have seen that the meeting of the states depended wholly on his will and pleasure.” P. 307.

Now there are no such words as *pressing necessity* in the new articles of government, but the exercise of this power is strictly confined to the case of actual invasion : the words are, “ yet that unhappy case excepted, when the kingdom should be attacked by an army.”

§ Articles 44. 48. 50.

which may render it necessary to convene that assembly, when the latter may redress grievances, or repair any breaches in the constitution.

In fact, his present majesty, though neither pressed by foreign war, nor by any material exigency, did, within six years from the time of his obtaining an exemption from the necessity of convening the states, conceive it expedient to summon them; and experienced that opposition which characterizes the representatives of a free people. In the house of nobles, for instance, a memorial was laid upon the table, wherein it was said, that there were no fixed laws; that the form of government established in 1772 had been for some time observed; but that lately many of the king's friends had appealed to that of 1616, as the proper model by which the administration was to regulate its proceedings: which constitution was to be considered as at present subsisting? Other propositions very offensive to the royal ear were discussed in this memorial; and it was intended to have been formally recited at the next meeting; but, to prevent this measure, the king summoned the states to the palace, and dissolved them. His majesty, in his speech delivered on that occasion, declared himself chagrined at the complaints unjustly levelled against his conduct; and added, that the form of government established in 1772 should always be regarded by him as the true constitution; that he never wished to deviate from it in the slightest degree; and that, as many persons had endeavoured to create a misunderstanding

understanding between him and the states, he had on that account adopted the resolution of dissolving them: a style of harangue that would not have been adopted by an absolute king.

In a word, whether the present form of government be likely to last, or whether it may not be as suddenly overturned as it was introduced by a new revolution; whether it may not in process of time degenerate into an arbitrary monarchy, or relapse into its pristine anarchy; are not here the objects of enquiry: the question relates solely to the nature of the constitution as it subsists at present; which the more accurately we examine, the less scrupulously shall we decide, that the king of Sweden is a limited, and not a despotick sovereign.

The diet, in which resides the supreme legislative authority, is composed of the king, whose prerogatives have been already related, and the states, which are convened at the sole will of the crown, and consist of the four houses, I. Of Nobles; II. Of the Clergy; III. Of Citizens; and, IV. of Peasants.

I. The first House is that of the Nobles.

They are divided into counts, barons, and untitled nobility. A family once ennobled continues so from generation to generation, as in its various collateral branches*; and all possess

* The reader will excuse the length of the following quotation, as well in consideration of the justness of the remarks, and

possess the same general privileges, which consist principally in the capacity of being senators, chamberlains, or of holding other civil employments about the king's person and court, and in an exemption from the poll-tax. The power of creating new nobility is vested in the king; but the number is limited. In a diet held under Adolphus Frederick, it was enacted, that no additional ones should

and its application to the subject in the text, as because it is almost the only place where the difference between the English and foreign nobility is precisely and clearly ascertained.

“ England is the only country in Europe where the distinction; for instance of noble and not noble, is carried no farther than the nature of the government requires it should; because there the nobility do not, as such, form a distinct class from the rest of the nation. As it is only the head of each noble family, who is there entitled to the honours and privileges of the peerage, it is not the man who can count a long train of titled ancestors, but the hereditary legislator, who is himself noble. The younger branches of these families, as they have no share in the legislature, are but little, if, by courtesy, at all distinguished from their fellow-subjects; with whom they and their descendants assimilate, and are soon, if I may so express myself, melted down into the general mass of the people. Hence these become a sort of link between the nobility and the commoners; a link that, connecting their interests, prevents all division between these two orders in their capacity of members of the same society, and which forms of that society a continued chain, no part of which can be touched without affecting, by an almost electrical communication, all the rest. In other countries, where those who have been once ennobled transmit the honours and privileges of nobility to all their posterity alike, there is no link to connect the nobles to the rest of the nation; on the contrary, a line is drawn between them to perpetuity; a line which cuts, as it were, the chain of society in two, the severed ends of which appear rather to repel than attract each other. There, consequently, that conjunction of views and interests cannot take place in the nation at large, to which I have said a free constitution must, in a great degree, owe its safety.” Sheridan, p. 143.

should be appointed until the families of this order were reduced to 1200; and at the revolution of 1772 his present majesty obtained the right of adding 150.

The head of each noble family in the direct line is by birth a member of this house, and represents, in his person, all the younger part of that line, as well as the collateral branches. If he happens to be a senator, he is incapacitated by his office from a place in the diet; but enjoys the power of transferring his seat to another noble. Any representative, who declines attending, may appoint a substitute, provided he nominates a person of his own family*.

As there are about 1200 noble families, if each head attended, the members present in the house would amount to that number; but there being no necessity for assisting at the diet, the representatives vary. In the late reign, when their votes were of greater consequence than they are under the present form of government, they usually amounted to 500 or 600; and on a remarkable occasion, when Adolphus Frederick intimated a design of abdicating the throne, above 1000 took their

* Formerly each head had the power of transferring his seat to any one noble; but as this privilege gave rise to a scandalous traffick of selling seats (see Sheridan, p. 159), the house passed a decree, prohibiting any representative from appointing a noble of another family to be his substitute to the prejudice of his own family in all its collateral branches, any of whom might, in preference to an alien, claim a right of assisting at a diet, if the chief declined attending.

their seats. In the late diet of 1778 only 300 made their appearance*.

II. The second house is that of the Clergy†.

The representatives of this order consist of the fourteen bishops, and a certain number of ecclesiasticks chosen in the following manner. The king's writ being issued to the consistory, or ecclesiastical court of each diocese, the latter dispatch a circular letter to the archdeacon of a district having the right of election; and he communicates the summons to the

* The governors of the provinces and the colonels of each regiment attend the sitting of the diet, in order to deliver in their reports; but they have no vote, excepting when they take their seats, as is usually the case, as representatives in their own right, or by the transfer of the heads of noble families. These circumstances have induced some authors erroneously to assert that the governors and colonels are, from their offices, entitled to seats and votes in the house of nobles.

† The Lutheran is the established religion of Sweden. The members are bishops, *domprosts* or deans, *prosts* or archdeacons, *pastors* or rectors, and *comministers* or perpetual curates. There are fourteen dioceses; the archbishoprick of Upsala, and the bishopricks of Emdkioping, Skara, Strängnäs, Wæsteros, Wexio, Abo, Lund, Borgo, Gotheborg, Calmar, Carlstadt, Hermosand, and Wisby or Gothland. The revenues of Upsala and Wæsteros amount to about £.1000 per annum, and those of the lowest bishopricks to £.300. The bishops are bound to residence, excepting at the meeting of the diet. The chapters of Upsala, Lund, and Abo, which are universities, are composed of the bishops, deans, who are always *primarii professores* of divinity, and the other professors in the several branches of literature; in those dioceses in which there are *gymnasia*, they consist of the bishop, dean, and the *lectores gymnasii*, or professors. In the diocese of Wisby or Gothland, the chapter is formed by the bishop and the neighbouring rectors.—There are also three superintendents, who rank as bishops, but do not sit in the house: the first chaplain to the king; the rector of St. Nicholas at Stockholm; and the first chaplain of the navy.

the clergymen of his several parishes. Every person possessing a benefice, and every upper and under master of the royal schools, is an elector, and may be a candidate to represent that district †. The electors meet at some place towards the center of the archdeaconry, and the person who has the greatest number of votes is chosen representative. The bishops are obliged to defray their own expences at the sittings of the diet, though they usually receive, in the larger dioceses, 15s. per day; and in the smaller 10s. : but the others must be paid by their constituents about 5s. or 6s. per day. The number of the representatives is uncertain, because each archdeaconry has the privilege of sending one member, or of joining with another in the choice of one : they have been seldom less than 50, and have never exceeded 80.

III. The third house is that of the Citizens.

Sweden contains 104 towns which enjoy the privilege of sending members to the diet. Every citizen of these towns engaged in trade and commerce, being a freeman, and paying taxes to the town, is at the age of 21 an elector* ; and every citizen, even the lowest
menial

† The *comministers*, or perpetual curates, chuse also one representative from the comministers of each diocese.

* The right of voting depends, in different places, on different qualifications. In some places it is derived from a certain assessment upon capitals employed in trade ; in others from a tax upon land without the boundaries of the town, &c. In all cases, persons who in this manner contribute largely to the publick imposts, enjoy an additional number of voices
propor-

menial tradesman, who has been a freeman during seven years, or an alderman during three, and who has attained the age of 24, is qualified to be a representative. Summons from the crown being issued by the governors of the provinces, the latter transmit them to the mayor and aldermen of each town having the right of appointing members. The mayor assembles the electors of the town-hall, and their choice is determined by the majority: none but freemen are permitted to be present. Each representative receives from their constituents a small contribution; which, in the larger towns, amounts to about 15s.; and in the smaller to 5s. 4s. or 2s. 6d. per day during their attendance at the diet.

The number of members who represented this order was never precisely the same. Each staple town has indeed the right of sending two; some of the largest, such as Gotheborg, Nordkioping, Gefle, and a few others, three; and Stockholm always deputed ten*: but sometimes one or two small towns joined to elect only one deputy; and at other times each appointed its own members. The usual number seldom fell short of 100, and never exceeded 200.

IV. The

proportionate to the multiples which they pay: supposing, for instance, an annual rate of 2s. 6d. qualifies for a vote, any person paying 5s. has two; 10s. four votes; and so on. In Gotheborg, there are about 1000 electors, and some rich merchants possess several hundred votes.

* Of this number four are elected from the mayor and aldermen, two from the wholesale merchants, two from retail traders, and two from persons engaged in handicraft trades.

IV. The fourth house is that of the Peasants, whose representatives are chosen by, and from, the following order of subjects.

The definition of a peasant is a farmer employed in agriculture, possessing land of a certain tenure, who has never followed any trade, or enjoyed any civil office. This description includes only those whose ancestors were also farmers, and does not entitle either nobles, citizens, or even country gentlemen, though they may purchase the peasant's estate, either to vote, or to be returned a member.

The land qualifying the farmer, who is a peasant, to be an elector, must be either crown land, or his own property.

The most valuable of these estates may be worth 1300l. and the poorest about 30l. If the land is possessed by two or more peasants, the vote is split among the several proprietors, each enjoying that share of the vote which is proportionate to his share of the farm†; but each of them is qualified to be a representative.

The peasants who thus enjoy the privilege of nominating the deputies, or of being elected themselves, may be divided into three classes: 1. Peasants whose farms consist of crown lands, which they enjoy for life upon payment of an annual quit-rent, and from which they cannot be removed but for being formally

† Thus a peasant having $\frac{1}{2}$ of an estate qualifying for a vote, has $\frac{1}{2}$ of a vote: and these fractions are all added together, which frequently makes an election for a member of the diet a very complicated business.

formally proved guilty of having neglected their culture. Upon the death of the proprietor the lease is almost always granted to the eldest son. 2. and 3. Peasants who have bought, at six years' purchase, either from the crown or the nobility, the perpetuity of their farms on the payment of a quit-rent.

The mode of election is as follows. The writ being issued to the governor of the province, he sends it to the county judges, each of whom summons the peasants within his jurisdiction to meet in the court of justice, and in his presence, on the day appointed for the election. The members are chosen by the majority of voices. The constituents join in contributing the sum of three, four, or five shillings per day towards defraying the expenses of their deputy at the diet. The electors who usually assemble in each district are seldom less than 30, or more than 100. The number of representatives in the house of peasants is extremely uncertain, as two districts occasionally unite in sending only one deputy, and at other times elect two; but, upon an average, they usually amount to about 100.

It is a very remarkable circumstance, that, in a constitution so free as that of Sweden, in which even the peasants, as landholders, are returned members to the diet, the country gentlemen, be their landed property ever so large, are not represented in the states of the kingdom*, have neither any vote in the choice

* The reason of the country gentlemen being excluded from

choice of representatives, nor can be representatives themselves: a strange inconsistency that those persons, who are justly esteemed the most respectable and incorrupt part of the body politick; should not enjoy the least share in the legislature, while many mechanicks and farmers, who are both as unqualified to canvass intricate political questions, as they are incapable of resisting the influence of bribery, possess that important privilege. Soon after the establishment of the limited monarchy in 1720 by the aristocratical party which raised Ulrica Eleonora to the throne, many country gentlemen signed an address to the diet, representing the impropriety of excluding so important an order of men from the states of the realm. But as the articles of government were finally settled, their application was not complied with: so well founded and just, however, were the principles of their remonstrance, that the king, at the recommendation of the diet, advanced several of the petitioners into the order of nobles.

The states of the kingdom, thus composed of the representatives chosen in the manner just described, assemble at Stockholm in several places. The nobles in the house of nobles, the clergy in the church adjoining to the palace; the citizens in the town-hall; and the peasants in another apartment of the same building.

Having

from all share in the legislation, was, that the form of government established in 1720, was founded on the ancient constitution of Sweden; by which the inhabitants were, as in most other countries of Europe, divided into nobles, clergy, citizens, and peasants.

Having taken their seats, and chosen their respective speakers, the four houses repair in due form to a hall of the palace, where the king, clad in his royal robes and seated upon the throne, informs them, in a short speech, of the reasons for which they are convened; desiring them to assist him with their advice in the present juncture of affairs, and deliberate for the good of the kingdom. In answer to this harangue, the four speakers compliment his majesty in the name of their respective houses; after which ceremony the representatives immediately retire.

Laws are enacted in the following manner. During the sittings of the diet, every member of the four houses has the privilege of proposing a question to the consideration of the assembly to which he belongs. A debate takes place upon the motion, which is carried or rejected by a majority. If it passes in one house, it is sent by a deputation to each of the others; and, if assented to by three, is presented by the four speakers to the king: his majesty afterwards summons the states to the palace, and communicates to them his assent or dissent in form. The latter negatives the bill, and the former gives to it the sanction of a law.

If the bill originates from the king, it is thus brought in: his majesty lays it before the senators, and having obtained their opinions in writing, refers it to the discussion of the states; if they approve it, the four houses repair to the palace, and communicate their assent to his majesty; if it is rejected, they
transmit

transmit their determination in writing by their speakers, and accompany it with the reasons which had induced them to dissent.

When the king chuses to put an end to the diet, he summons the states to the palace, and dissolves them by a speech.

C H A P. V.

General remarks on the I. Population.—II. Revenues.—III. Military establishment.—IV. And penal Laws of Sweden.

THE population is perhaps more accurately ascertained in Sweden than in any other part of Europe; which is owing to the peculiar care and attention paid by government to obtain a correct register of the marriages, births, and deaths. For this purpose a *Tabell Commission*, or a board for inspecting and registering the bills of mortality resident at Stockholm, was instituted in 1749; which maintains a correspondence with all the parishes and towns in the kingdom. Tables are distributed to the clergymen and magistrates for the purpose of enrolling the marriages, births, and deaths in their respective districts, and specifying the number of inhabitants at that time subsisting; and extraordinary care is taken to prevent mistakes.

The

The first table is for a general list of the births, deaths, and marriages; the second for the bills of mortality; the third for the number of inhabitants. The two former are kept by the parish-priests, and annually delivered; the latter by the parish-priest in the country, and by the magistrates in the towns, and are sent to the board at the end of every third year*.

A copy of the former tables is here subjoined, as their useful tendency is evident, and as an institution of a similar nature could not fail of being highly advantageous to every country.

* The ascertaining of the number of inhabitants is greatly facilitated by the poll-tax, and by the care taken by the clergy to keep exact registers. About thirty years ago the diet passed a law, that every person in Sweden, both male and female, should learn to read. This regulation is considered as part of the ecclesiastical discipline, and is particularly attended to by the clergy, who examine the children in their respective parishes.

TABLE

TABLE sent by the Government of Sweden into the several Provinces for the Purpose of ascertaining the Population.

For the Year 17.. List of Births, Deaths, and Marriages.

	BIRTHS.			DEATHS.				MARRIAGES.	
	Legitimate.		Illegitimate.	Till the age of 10 inclusive.		Above 10 years old.		Married Persons.	Sum Total.
	M.	F.		M.	F.	M.	F.		
Months.									
January									
February									
March, &c.									
Sums									

Total of all the births in 17.. Total of deaths.

[Continuation of the preceding Table.]

R E M A R K S.

The twins are included in the preceding numbers among the births; here those women are only enumerated who have been brought-to-bed of two or three children at a birth.		Here is marked the age of all women who have been brought-to-bed.	Numbr.
Twins.	Of three children.		
Here are placed the children born dead: who were not included in the births.		— between 15 - 20 years	
		— — 20 - 25	
		— — 25 - 30	
		— — 30 - 35	
		— — 35 - 40	
		— — 40 - 45	
		— — 45 - 50	
Males.	Females.	Total	

Persons who died at past ninety are comprised among the deaths; but here their several ages are respectively mentioned.		What species of disorders were most prevalent, and at what season of the year.	
	Males.	Females.	Seasons: Prevalent disorders at —.
Between 90 and 95			Spring
95 and 100			Summer
Above 100			Autumn
Sums			Winter
Total of the whole year			

C A S U A L T I E S.

	Mal.	Fem.		Mal.	Fem.
a. Overlaid by mothers or nurses			b. Frozen to death		
b. Parricides			c. Suffocated by smoke		
c. Assassinated			d. Suicides		
d. Starved to death			e. Killed by lightning		
e. Drowned in the sea			f. Crushed in felling trees, &c.		
f. Drowned in wells			g. Found dead		
g. Perished under the ice			h. Lost in mines		
			i. &c. &c. &c.		
Sum					
			Total		

Here are noted any extraordinary circumstances which happened in the three kingdoms of nature—the harvest—price of grain, &c.

List of malefactors, with their executions and punishments.

Bills

Sum of d
ing age

Bills of Mortality for the Year 17—.

Age of the deceased.	Above a year old.		From 1—3.		From 3—5.		From 5—10.		10—15, and so on Deaths & for every 5 their Dil-yearsto 100 orders.	
Sexes.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
Fever										
Empyema										
Quinzy										
Stone										
Cirrocèle, &c.										
Erysypelas, Gangrene, &c.										
Suffocation, Apoplexy										
Intermitting Fevers										
Spotted Fever										
Putrid Fever										
Hemorrhage										
Consumption										
Cholick, &c.										
Jaundice, &c.										
Gout										
Convulsions										
Epilepsy										
Scurvy										
Fistulas, Ulcers										
Dropfy										
Cancer										
Leprosy, Itch										
Venereal complaints										
Madness										
Old Age										
Child-bed										
Flux, or Loss of Blood										
Rash										
Hooping-cough,										
Asthma										
Small Pox										
Measles										
Scarlet Fever										
Indigestion										
Worms										
Rickets										
Unknown or concealed Disorders										
Casualties, &c.										
Sum of deaths, specifying age and sex.										

Total deaths of both Sexes.

M 2

The

The celebrated astronomer, Mr. Wargentin, a member of this useful society, has published in the Transactions of the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences, a very clear and accurate account of the manner in which the board carries on its correspondence, and collects the necessary information; and has drawn from the several registers an average computation of the annual deaths.

From several judicious calculations, formed from the registers of nine successive years, he computes, that, in the country, the annual proportion of deaths to births is as 1 to 35 or, if the year is remarkably healthy, to 36 or even 37; and at Stockholm as 1 to 20. He adds, that, during the same period, there were 2036 men and 3540 women above the age of 90; of whom 212 men and 328 women were between 100 and 105; 31 men and 76 women between 106 and 110; 22 men and 19 women between 111 and 120; one man was 122; and one woman 127. At the end is a table of the marriages, deaths, and births, from 1755 to 1763.

We find, in Cantzler's * State of Sweden, that, in 1760, the population amounted to 2,383,113 souls; that of these were 162,888 inhabitants of towns exclusive of the nobility and clergy; and 2,220,225 persons living in the country, including the nobility and clergy; and that, according to a fair calculation, the whole number might be classed in the following proportion: 10,645 nobles, comprising 3597 under 15 years; 18,197 ecclesiasticks and their families, and students, including 7073 under 15; 162,888 inhabitants of towns and their families engaged in arts, manufactures, and trades; 2,191,383 inhabitants

* P. 186. *Memoires pour servir à la connoissance du Royaume de Swede*; an excellent work, which, for accuracy and information, cannot be too highly recommended.

tants of the country employed in agriculture, the mines, &c.

I shall close this account with a list of the births and deaths in Sweden, and the number of inhabitants. The reader will not doubt its accuracy, when he is informed that I received it from Mr. Wargentin.

The list is classed according to the three great divisions of the kingdom.

In the first division, called Sweden Proper, comprehending the metropolis, Upland, Sodermanland, Nerike, Westmanland, Dalecarlia, and all the provinces to the North.

BIRTHS.

DEATHS.

Years.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.
1749	12774	12605	25379	10857	11622	22479
1750	13708	13253	26961	10035	10110	20145
1751	15247	14518	29765	9916	10236	20152
1752	14347	13703	28050	11875	11948	23823
1774	15364	14971	30335	10029	10617	20646
1775	16180	15697	31877	10882	10920	21802
1776	15220	14537	29757	10622	10621	21243
1777	15047	14541	29588	12120	12118	24238

Number of Inhabitants.

	Males.	Females.	Total.
In 1752	363541	419326	782867
1776	433494	480154	913648

In the kingdom of Gothland, comprehending Warmeland, Woestergothland, Ostergothland, and all the provinces south of them, with the islands of Oeland and Gothland.

BIRTHS.

B I R T H S.				D E A T H S.		
Years.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.
1749	17327	16777	34104	13185	13852	27037
1750	19111	18439	37550	13406	14071	27477
1751	20016	19510	39526	13166	13584	26750
1752	18831	18092	36923	12698	12946	25644
1774	19507	18678	38185	11506	12311	23817
1775	20301	19465	39766	13691	14456	28147
1776	19016	18166	37182	11999	12454	24453
1777	19466	18570	38036	13227	13797	27024

Number of Inhabitants.

	Males.	Females.	Total.
In 1752	477079	525781	1,002860
1776	553171	594985	1,148156

In F I N L A N D.

B I R T H S.				D E A T H S.		
Years.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.
1749	8546	8257	16803	5827	5828	11655
1750	8879	8550	17429	5446	5777	11223
1751	9508	9342	18850	5149	5326	10475
1752	9737	9658	19395	5698	5702	11400
1774	12211	11731	23942	6431	6321	12752
1775	12296	12167	24463	7681	7782	15463
1776	12044	11880	23924	9361	9362	18723
1777	12609	12223	24832	9880	9915	19795
1778	13614	13202	26816	8010	7688	15698
1779	14180	13579	27759	7223	6872	14095

Number of Souls in Finland.

	Males.	Females.	Total.
In 1752	205002	224910	429912
1776	298322	311823	610145

List of Births and Deaths in the whole Kingdom.

B I R T H S.				D E A T H S.		
Years.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.
1749	38647	37639	76286	29869	31302	61171
1750	41698	40242	81940	28887	29958	58845
1751	44771	43370	88141	28231	29146	57377
1752	42915	41453	84368	30592	30275	60867
1774	47082	45380	92462	27966	29249	57215
1775	47492	46030	93522	32254	33158	65412
1776	46280	44583	90863	31982	32437	64419
1777	47122	45334	92456	35227	35830	71057

Number of Souls in Sweden.

	Males.	Females.	Total.
In 1752	1,045,622	1,170,017	2,215,639
1776	1,284,987	1,386,962	2,671,949
1781	About —	—	2,767,000

By comparing the population of these three different epochs, the reader will perceive that the country has been gradually recovering from that exhausted state to which it had been reduced by the wars of Charles XII.; and that, within the space of thirty years, the number of inhabitants have increased 551,361, or a fifth part of its present population.

H. The revenues of Sweden are chiefly drawn from the rents of the crown-demefnes; part of the great tythes; a poll tax *; duties upon exports and imports; upon mines and forges; upon distilled spirits; deductions from salaries,

* About 1s. 3d. each person. The poll-tax is paid by every person, male and female, between the ages of 15 and 63; excepting the nobles and their domesticks; soldiers and government failors; and every married couple among the lower class of farmers of a certain description, having four children, of which the youngest is under eight years of age.

salaries, pensions, and places ; tax upon chimnies ; and the monopoly of salt-petre.

The net revenues in 1772, before the revolution, amounted to £908,434 ; and by a few subsequent regulations † agreed to by the diet, convened upon the change of government, have been raised to about £1,000,000. This receipt, however, must not be considered as equivalent to the annual expenditure ; for the greatest part of the military forces, and a small portion of the naval establishment, which in other governments exhaust so large a share of the public supplies, are maintained with no charge to the crown. At the diet of 1778, the states voted the king a free gift of £175,000 upon the birth of the hereditary prince.

No country perhaps has ever, in a greater degree than Sweden, experienced such severe distresses from a want of gold and silver specie, from a scarcity even of copper money *, and its enormous bulk, and from the fluctuating value of bank notes, which at one period formed almost the only currency. These evils,

† Such as assigning to the crown the monopoly for the distillation of spirituous liquors ; and causing certain taxes to be paid in silver specie, which were before discharged in copper money, and which, in effect, doubles the receipt of those particular imposts.

* On account of the advantages attending the exportation of the copper money, the intrinsic value of which was superior to its nominal, and the immense number of bank-notes, there was scarcely any thing but paper-currency. At one period even private shop-keepers issued small printed notes, some so low as 1*d.* 2*d.* or 3*d.* value, which they gave in exchange for the bank-notes.

evils, noticed by many travellers * who have written upon Sweden, and which threatened a total bankruptcy, are now entirely removed by the king, to whom the states of 1772 consigned the difficult province of reforming the currency. His majesty having obtained in Holland, a loan of £750,000, called in a considerable part of the bank notes, and introduced such a plentiful supply of silver coin, remarkable for its purity and convenience, that in the course of my progress through Sweden, I found not the least difficulty of procuring, even in the distant provinces and smallest towns, silver money in exchange for gold or bank-notes. The king has also, in a great measure, abolished the numerous and complicated modes of pecuniary computation, which varied in different places, and under different circumstances; and has enjoined one simple species of reckoning to be general through-

* The reader will easily conceive the present improvements of the coin by the following passage in Mr. Wraxall's Tour, which he made in 1774, only five years before I visited Sweden. "Whatever quantity of precious metals they have in the metropolis of this kingdom, I have not yet seen one bit, however small, either of gold or silver, in my long journey from Helsingborg to this place; nor have they, I am well assured, any such commodities in the provinces. In lieu of these two articles, generally used amongst us, they have two other articles which supply their place, namely, copper, and paper. Their bank-notes are as low as one shilling and sixpence; and they have them of all values, rising gradually from that sum. It is often not a little diverting, when I tendered them one of fifty copper dollars, which is adequate to 12s. 6d. to see them bring both their hands full of copper coins: nor can they convert it into current money by any other means." Wraxall's Tour, p. 96.

throughout the kingdom, and to be indiscriminately used on all occasions †.

III. The military establishment.

The Swedish army is divided into national militia and garrison regiments. The latter, or troops upon the German footing, are composed of natives and foreigners duly enlisted, and are stationed in the several garrisons, and receive their pay in money. Although the national militia first took a regular form under John III. yet its fixed establishment, as it subsists at present, was settled by Charles XI. That prince resumed the grants of the crown-demefnes which had been lavished by his predecessors: some he restored on condition that the proprietors of a certain portion should furnish a soldier; others he allotted for the maintenance of the officers. It was also enacted during his reign, that the lands thus assigned for the support of the national militia, should for ever remain appropriated to that purpose; and

† They computed on different occasions, and in different parts of the kingdom, by tons of gold, silver dollars, copper dollars, rixdollars, plotes, flivers, runstics, or œhres, some whereof were imaginary, while the intrinsic worth of others were different from their real. A ton of gold = 100,000 silver dollars, or 300,000 copper dollars, silver money being of triple value to copper money; a rixdollar = 5s.; a plote, = 1s. 8d.; silver dollar = 10d.; a copper dollar $3\frac{1}{3}d.$; = 10 flivers and 2 runstics; a fliver = 1 farthing and $\frac{1}{4}$. = 3 runstics or copper œhres. The new mode of computation introduced by his majesty, is by rixdollars, skelins, and runstics. A rixdollar = 5s. contains 48 skelins, and a skelin 12 runstics. This mode has been adopted by government, and will, in process of time, become general; though the people are from long habit so attached to their ancient complicated manner of reckoning, that they will not readily renounce it.

and these regulations were further confirmed and augmented in 1723, with the additional clause, that they should be considered as a fundamental part of the constitution, and should never be abolished.

In order to comprehend the nature of the Swedish militia, it is necessary to observe, that the kingdom is divided into districts, which are respectively bound to furnish and maintain a stipulated number of troops. With this view, each holder of a certain quantity of crown-land, called a *Hemman*, provides a soldier, assigns for his maintenance a small portion of ground, a cottage, and a barn; and allows him 100 copper dollars, or £1. 7s. 8^d. per annum, a suit of coarse clothes, and two pair of shoes. When the soldier is absent, either with the army in time of war, during the annual reviews, or is employed in the service of government, the landholder cultivates his ground * for the subsistence of his wife and family; and when he is present, may call upon him to work at the rate of the common wages bestowed upon a labourer †. Upon the death of the soldier, his widow and children are obliged to cede the ground and house to his successor, whom the landholder is bound to

* In my route through Sweden, I stopped to examine a portion of ground appropriated to the maintenance of a corporal of infantry: it measured 147 yards in length, and 117 in breadth; but as it was in general a deep sand, only part was capable of being advantageously cultivated, so that it was by no means sufficient for the subsistence of the corporal and his family.

† Which in some parts that I visited was about 3d per day.

to provide within the space of three months upon pain of being fined.

With respect to the cavalry, a certain number of *hemmans* are joined to furnish a man and horse fully equipped, and to maintain them both.

Beside 4s. 2d. annually paid by the proprietors of each *hemman*, towards defraying the expence of the soldiers uniforms, some crown-demesnes are set apart for the same purpose, but in so small a quantity, as to be scarcely adequate to the charge of clothing two regiments. On this account, as the national troops are not, in time of peace, under arms for a longer space than three weeks, they are seldom provided with new uniforms oftener than once in eight or nine years.

Upon a similar principle, the officers of these national troops receive, instead of their pay in money, certain estates in land, called *boställe*, which are situated in the same province to which the regiment belongs. They are allowed an additional appointment in corn from the king's tythes. Each province being divided into a number of *hemmans* sufficient to support a regiment, the smaller provinces furnish the regiments of infantry, and the larger those of cavalry. The estate appropriated to the colonel is situated towards the centre of the province, and of the grounds assigned to his regiment; that of the captain in the middle of those belonging to his company; and in a similar gradation to the corporal.

In every year, either before or after the harvest, when the peasants are least employed,
the

the companies of each regiment are separately assembled for a fortnight or three weeks. The landholder is obliged to transport the man and his baggage to the place of rendezvous, and support him during his stay at the review. Beside these annual encampments, once in three years a general review of each regiment takes place. The men are also constantly exercised on Sundays after divine service in small parties, and in larger corps for some time before the encampment, but more particularly in Spring. If in time of war, these troops are marched out of the country, the crown receives the usual contributions from the landholder, and provides the soldiers with clothes, provisions, &c.

In the Spring of 1779 the following was nearly the state of the Swedish army :

Regular Troops.

Nine * regiments of infantry	- - -	9,000
Two of cavalry	- - -	800
Artillery	- - -	2,900
Total of regular troops	- - -	12,700

National

* The largest regiments contain 1670, the smallest 1000, and are divided into companies. The staff-officers are a colonel, lieutenant-colonel, two majors, a quarter-master, who ranks as captain, and two adjutants.—Each company of 150 men has a captain, lieutenant, ensign, five non-commissioned officers, and six corporals, the latter of whom are included in the 150.

National Militia.

Twenty-one regiments of infantry,	}	24,000
about - - -		
Seven of cavalry - - -		7,400
Light dragoons - - -		3,400
Total of national militia - -		34,800
Total of the garrison and national troops }		47,500

IV. I shall close this chapter with a few remarks on the Penal Laws.

There are four superior courts of justice, called Hof-Rætt : at Stockholm for Sweden Proper ; at Lindkiöping for the kingdom of Gothland ; at Åbo for South Finland ; and at Vasa for North Finland. No sentence of death passed by the inferior courts can be carried into execution, unless ratified by these tribunals.

The inferior tribunals are *Kiömars Rätter*, which assemble, as occasion requires, in the principal towns ; and the *Harads Rätter*, or a kind of assizes, generally held three times in the year under the county judges. It may not be uninteresting to mention in this place, that, in the latter, there is a kind of jury, consisting of twelve peasants, chosen by the district, and confirmed by the governor of the province ; they continue in office for life, and seven of them form a court. In all criminal cases the judge demands their opinion, which prevails against his decision if they should be unanimous.

unanimous. But this institution, according to practice, is a mere formality : for the jurymen are so ignorant and poor, that most of them pay an implicit deference to the dictates of the judge ; besides, their sentiments have only force when they *all* agree ; and they are not, as with us, obliged to be unanimous. The supineness indeed, and passiveness, of these insignificant retainers of justice is so notorious, that a man, remarkable for his indolence and inattention, is commonly said to be *as sleepy as a jurymen*.

The usual mode of execution in Sweden is beheading and hanging. Every criminal capitally convicted is indulged with the privilege of petitioning the king : they either complain of unjust condemnation, and in that case demand a reversal of their sentence ; or, if they allow themselves to be guilty, may implore pardon or a mitigation of punishment. So mild are the penal laws, that several offences, which in other countries are considered as capital, are chastised by whipping, condemnation to bread and water, imprisonment and hard labour ; more than 120 strokes of the rod are never inflicted ; nor is a criminal sentenced to bread and water for more than 28 days.

Many flagrant abuses in the courts of justice have been reformed and corrected by the present king. In all cases of high treason, it is enjoined that previous notice must be sent to the crown before any court can commence an inquiry : an ordinance which has put a stop to many frivolous and vexatious accusations, which used to be brought against the subject.

subject. Before the accession of his present majesty, it was very common for persons indicted, but not convicted, of crimes, to suffer an imprisonment of several years without being tried; by the abolition of many tedious forms in the present reign, every criminal is arraigned within a short period after commitment, the good effects of which alteration requires no comment. His majesty has increased the salaries of the judges; and consigned their share of the fines inflicted by their decision to other uses: by this judicious regulation he has greatly lessened the corruption and injustice which necessarily prevailed in those tribunals; for the scanty incomes of the judges exposed them to bribery; while a share in the fines rendered them interested in convicting the criminal. The king has also promoted the rights of humanity, by suppressing, in 1773, the cruel and absurd practice of torture, which was employed for the purpose of obtaining a confession of guilt from suspected persons.

One excellent regulation in the courts of Sweden deserves to be mentioned, and adopted in all countries; it is, that a criminal is tried without the least expence to the plaintiff or defendant. The prosecutor denounces a person suspected of guilt to the king's officer of justice, who carries on the process at the public charge.

C H A P. VI.

Departure from Stockholm.—Description of Upsala.—Antient palace.—Catastrophe of the Sture family.—Madness of Eric XIV.—Cathedral.—Tomb and character of Gustavus Vasa.—Genealogical table of the kings of Sweden his descendants.—Tomb of John III.—Catharine Jaghellon.—Benedict Oxenstiern.—Laurentius Petri.—Account of the university.—Public Library.—Codex Argenteus.—Visit to professor Bergman.—Royal Society.—Morasteen antient place of enthronement for the kings of Sweden.

ALTHOUGH my stay in Sweden was limited, I was unwilling to quit the country without visiting Gotheborg, the most commercial town next to Stockholm, and viewing the canal of Trolhætta, which had been represented to me as a most stupendous work. My companions preferring to see the mines of Fahlun and Danamora, I quitted them at Stockholm, and rejoined them at Carlsrona. Having purchased an open cart, the common travelling vehicle in this country, which was rendered more commodious by two arm chairs hung upon springs, I sat out early on the 4th of March, accompanied by a Swedish servant, who spoke French, as my interpreter; and arrived the same day at Upsala, which is distant about 45 miles from the capital.

Upsala, which stands in the beginning of an open plain fertile in grain and pasture, is a small, but very neat town, containing, exclusive of the students, about 3000 inhabitants. The ground plot is extremely regular: it is divided into two almost equal parts by a small rivulet; and the streets are drawn at right angles from a central kind of square; a few of the houses are built with brick and stuccoed, but the generality are constructed with trunks, smoothed into the shape of planks, and painted red, and the roofs are covered in with turf. Each house has its small court-yard, or garden.

Old Upsala, which is a place of high antiquity, and occurs in the earliest accounts of these Northern countries, is supposed to have stood at a small distance from that which now bears the same name; and was much celebrated as the principal place of sacrifice in times of Pagan superstition, and the residence of the high-priest of Oden*. The present town, or New Upsala, is far anterior to the foundation of Stockholm: no authentick records, indeed, ascertain the exact time of its origin; but several Swedish antiquaries have with much probability conjectured, that it was at first a suburb of Old Upsala, and rose upon its ruins when that town became deserted, and fell into decay†.

Upsala was formerly the metropolis of Sweden, and the royal residence. The anti-ent

* Snorro Sturlensis Hist. Reg. Norweg. Vol. I. c. 76.
Dahlin's Geschichte Von Sweden, Vol. I. passim.

† Perinskioldi Upsala Nova.

ent palace was begun in 1549† by Gustavus Vasa, and completed by Eric XIV. It was a spacious and magnificent building, until great part of it was consumed by fire in 1702. The remains, which stand upon an elevated site, and command a fine prospect of the adjacent country, consist of a wing, a small part of another, and the principal front, which has been repaired, and is covered with a red stucco. An old entrance, vast masses of ruins, arches, vaults, and large piles of brick and mortar, are evident traces of its antient splendour. The room in which the diet of Sweden used to assemble is now converted into a granary, and affords no other proofs of its former importance than its dimensions, being 140 feet in length, and 90 in breadth. The few remaining apartments in the wing which is not entire, are used as the common jail for criminals. Underneath are three dungeons, which were formerly appropriated to the confinement of state prisoners, the most remarkable of whom was count Svante Sture, descended from an antient family, which had given several administrators to Sweden, and which, before the election of Gustavus Vasa, had the fairest pretensions to the throne. Upon a door of one of these dungeons my conductor pointed out several characters coarsely notched, which, according to tradition, were made by count Svante in the agony of distress, and as a memorial of his grief for the death of his son. The sight of these characters, and the name of Sture, brought to my re-

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collection

† Perinskioldi Upsala Nova. p. 317.

collection the sudden extinction of that much injured family, to which these walls were a witness; and the gloomy madness of Eric XIV. which occasioned that dreadful catastrophe. The mistrust and suspicion which that unfortunate monarch had conceived against the nobility of Sweden increasing with the distresses of his reign, hurried him at length into a state of insanity: he saw a plot in the most common occurrences; and gave implicit credit to all the idle rumours of intended revolts, artfully spread by his favourites to intimidate or exasperate him.

The Stures, as the principal family in the kingdom, had long been the chief object of his jealousy, and had already felt some unwarrantable acts of authority. Nicholas, the son of count Svante, had lately experienced the following instances of his tyranny and caprice. Being, in 1566, cited by Eric before the diet, on a charge of misconduct at the siege of Bohus, he was found guilty, and condemned to death. The king, however, instead of suffering the sentence to be inflicted, or of remitting it entirely, acted with his usual inconsistency. He ordered him to be carried in mock procession through the streets of Stockholm with a crown of straw upon his head; and yet, soon after this publick affront, he again received him into favour, and appointed him an ambassador to the court of Lorraine. But I hasten to the event which gave rise to this detail, the imprisonment and extinction of the Sture family. Upon the slightest suspicions merely derived from rumour,

mour, and some suborned witnesses, count Svante and his sons Eric and Nicholas, and several other persons of the first distinction, were in 1567 accused of conspiring against the life of the king, arrested, and confined in the palace of Upsala. While their trial was yet pending, a report being spread that his brother John, whom he had imprisoned at Gripsholm, had escaped from confinement; he suddenly repaired to the apartment in which Nicholas Sture was confined, and saluted him with the appellation of traitor: the young count endeavouring to appease his fury by throwing himself at his feet, the king stabbed him in the arm; the other, drawing the dagger from the wound, kissed it and presented it to Eric, who, unmoved with such an affecting instance of loyalty, repeated the blow, and ordered his servant to finish the murder. Seized with an instantaneous fit of remorse, he flew to the dungeon of count Svante, and falling at his feet, called him his friend, exclaiming in an agony of despair, "In God's name I entreat you to forgive what I have committed against you."—"Willingly," replied the old count, melting into tears of compassion, "but if my son's life is in danger, you must answer for it before God."—"Yes, yes" replied the king "in a transport of rage, I was sure that I should never obtain your pardon;" then giving orders to the jailer to secure the count, he hastily quitted the palace in a peasant's dress, and, accompanied by a few guards, roved about the country in a frantick manner.

Den-

Dennis Bury, his preceptor, overtaking him at a small distance from the town, fell prostrate at his feet, and conjured him to spare the lives of the noble prisoners; a petition which proved as fatal to himself as to the persons for whom he interceded: for Eric gave signs to one of his guards, who killed Bury upon the spot, and dispatched immediate orders to the jailer at Upsala for the execution of the prisoners; orders of a madman, which were but too readily obeyed, and which extirpated at once the antient family of the Stures.

Mean while Eric wandered about the woods in a state of remorse and distraction; and was discovered on the fourth day after his departure from Upsala by his wife Catharine: she found him in the parsonage of Odenfala wild with grief and despair*, and scattering money among the people who were assembled upon this melancholy occasion. The presence of his beloved Catharine operated like a charm; she calmed his agonies, prevailed upon him to take nourishment and repose, and accompanied him to Stockholm, where he gradually recovered his senses†. Soon, however, relapsing into his former state of mistrust and suspicions, his administration became so weak and odious, that, in the following year, he was deposed by his two brothers, who united their forces against him. John ascended the throne which Eric had so unworthily filled. In another place I shall have occasion to mention the

* Einem wildem Thier archulicher als einem Menschen. Dahlin.

† See Dahlin's *Gef.* Vol. III. p. 511, &c. *Celsius Hist. d'Eric XIV.* Liv. 9.

the circumstances of his imprisonment and death†.

Upsala is an archiepiscopal see, and one of the most antient Christian establishments in Sweden. Everinus was the first bishop; by birth an Englishman, he came, in 1026, into this country at the request of king Olaus Scotkonung, in order to assist in converting the natives of Old Upsala to Christianity*. The similarity of the English and Swedish languages is mentioned as the motive which first brought Everinus, and afterwards several of his countrymen into these parts as preachers of the Gospel. He was no less qualified for this task from the meekness of his disposition, than from his knowledge of the Swedish idiom; not forcing, as was but too usual, the natives to embrace the Christian doctrines by violence and persecution; but introducing the Gospel by persuasion and example. His successors in the see resided for the most part at Sigtuna until 1120, when Nicholas Ulphson fixed the residence at Old Upsala. Stephen, a native of East-Gothland, the seventh bishop, was the first archbishop: he was raised to that dignity in 1164, and died in 1185. Falko, who was consecrated in 1267, and expired in 1276, first transferred the residence to New Upsala. The immediate occasion of this change in the archiepiscopal seat was the destruction of the cathedral at Old Upsala by a violent fire in 1246, which was soon afterwards

† See Chap IX. of this book.

* See Dahlin, Vol. II. 468, &c.

wards began to be rebuilt on the spot where it now stands†.

In the center of the town stands the cathedral, a large building of brick; the architecture is in the Gothick style, excepting two towers of later date, which are ornamented with small marble pillars of the Dorick order, and which disfigure the general symmetry of the other parts. This cathedral was begun in the middle of the 13th century, under the direction of Stephen Bonneville, a French architect‡, who followed in its construction the model of the church of Notre Dame at Paris. It has several times been greatly damaged by fire, but has been as frequently repaired.

Upon entering the cathedral I beheld with the greatest reverence, and even a degree of enthusiastick admiration, the sepulchre which covers the venerable ashes of Gustavus Vasa; it stands in a private chapel, and is an oblong monument of marble, with wooden pyramids at each angle*: his figure is represented in marble between those of his two first wives Catharine and Margaret, whose remains are interred in the same tomb.

Born in a private station, and bred in the school of adversity, Gustavus obtained and deserved a crown by the first of all titles; the gratitude of his countrymen for a series of long and faithful services. Sweden was indebted to him for her deliverance from a foreign yoke, and from the oppressions of a tyrant,

† Perinsk. Chap. II. and IX.

‡ Perinsk. Mon. Ullarakensia, p. 18.

* There were four pyramids; but one having fallen down, there are only three remaining.

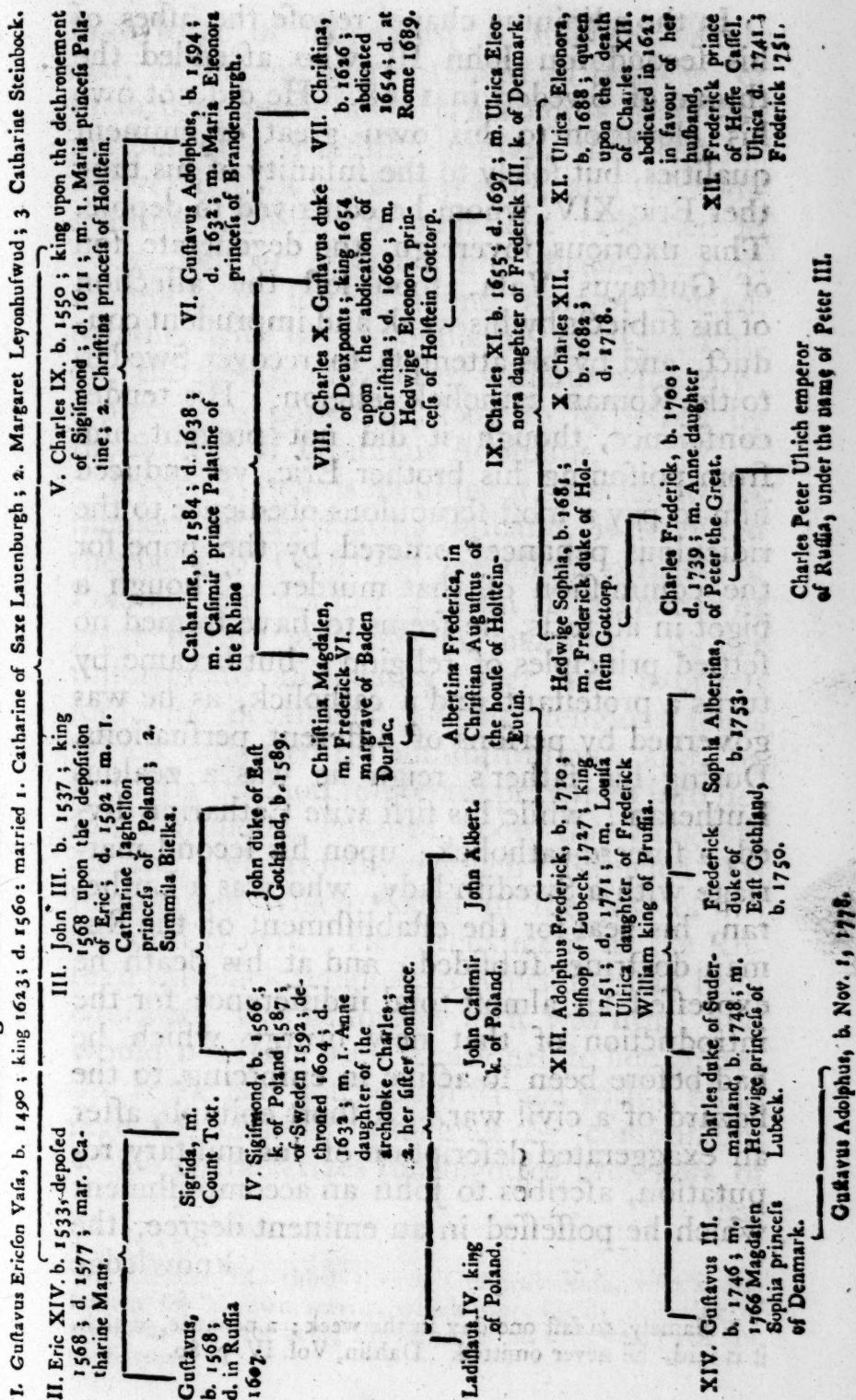
rant, for the abolition of an elective, and the establishment of an hereditary monarchy, and for the introduction of the protestant religion.

An inscription upon the tomb informs us, that Gustavus was born in 1499, chosen administrator of Sweden 1520, elected king 1523, crowned 1528, and that he died 1560 in the 70th year of his age, and in the 40th of a glorious reign. Equally great in the publick characters of a legislator, warrior, and politician, he distinguished himself in every station of life; whether we consider his cool intrepidity and enterprizing spirit, his honest integrity and political foresight, his talents for legislation, his propensity to letters, and encouragement of learning, his affability to the lowest ranks, and his solid and enlightened piety. All his great qualities, set off by a majestick and graceful person, and still further heightened by the most commanding eloquence, drew the esteem and admiration of all; so that it may be justly said of him, that the most arbitrary monarch never exercised a more unbounded sway over his vassals, than Gustavus possessed from the voluntary affection of his free-born subjects. In a word, he was a sovereign who was esteemed by foreigners no less than by his own people, by contemporaries as well as by posterity, one of the wisest and best that ever adorned a throne. Beside several inscriptions, and a Latin epitaph in Hexameter verse, two genealogical tables are engraved upon the tomb, which trace his lineage from the antient princes

ces of the North: as if his great virtues did not reflect, rather than borrow, lustre upon the most conspicuous ancestry. Gustavus is the father of a line of kings, called from him the house of Vasa, whose posterity, as enumerated in the following table, still sways the Swedish sceptre.

Genealogical

Genealogical Table of the Kings of SWEDEN of the House of VASA.



In the adjoining chapel repose the ashes of his second son John III. who ascended the throne of Sweden in 1568. He did not owe his elevation to his own great or eminent qualities, but solely to the insanity of his brother Eric XIV. whom he contrived to depose. This uxorious sovereign, the degenerate son of Gustavus Vasa, soon lost the affection of his subjects by his weak and imprudent conduct, and by his attempts to recover Sweden to the Roman catholick religion. His tender conscience, though it did not prevent him from poisoning his brother Eric, yet induced him to pay a most scrupulous obedience to the ridiculous penance* ordered by the pope for the commission of that murder. Though a bigot in all sects, he seems to have formed no settled principles of religion; but became by turns a protestant and a catholick, as he was governed by persons of different persuasions. During his father's reign he was a zealous Lutheran; while his first wife Catharine lived, a sincere catholick; upon his second marriage with a Swedish lady, who was a Lutheran, his zeal for the establishment of the Roman doctrines subsided; and at his death he expressed an almost total indifference for the introduction of that new liturgy which he had before been so active in enforcing, to the hazard of a civil war. A short epitaph, after an exaggerated description of his military reputation, ascribes to John an accomplishment which he possessed in an eminent degree, the knowledge

* Namely, to fast one day in the week; a penance, which, it is said, he never omitted. Dahlin, Vol. IV. p. 80.

knowledge of languages. It might have added, an extensive erudition in all branches of literature; more indeed†, according to the expression of a Swedish historian, than became a sovereign; a graceful person, and the most winning affability of manners. He died in 1592, neither regretted nor esteemed; consigning to his son Sigismund king of Poland, together with his unpopularity and superstition, the sceptre of Sweden without authority; a precarious possession, soon to be seized by the father* of Gustavus Adolphus.

Under a superb monument, erected to her memory by her doating husband, is deposited the body of Catharine Jaghellon, princess of Poland, and consort of John III. a woman of great beauty and elegant manners. By her unfortunate ascendancy over her uxorious lord, she occasioned all the religious feuds which disgraced his administration; and, by instilling the most intolerant principles into her son Sigismund, entailed upon this kingdom all the civil troubles which distracted his reign; and which ended in the loss of his Swedish crown. Her attachment to the Roman catholick religion, in which she had been educated, was as sincere as it was firm; and would not have been mentioned to her discredit, if she had not been inflamed with a blind rage for making profelytes by compulsion, which characterizes the bigotted professors of that

† Dahlin.

* Charles IX. third son of Gustavus Vasa, who is less known for his own merits, which were highly deserving of a crown, than for being the father of an hero who gave law to Europe.

that persuasion. Her death, which happened in 1583, was friendly to the peace of Sweden, as her compliant husband, when no longer inflamed by her presence, cooled in his attempt to force popery upon his subjects; and the heats of religious dispute, which she had kindled into a flame, subsided for a time.

In a small chapel is the sepulchre of the Stures, that illustrious family, whose extinction has been already related. The ashes of the three Stures, who fell a sacrifice to the tyranny of Eric, are distinguished by a monument, which was erected by the widow of count Svante; it contains, beside several epitaphs in Hexameter verse, a pathetic inscription in Latin prose. The substance whereof is as follows:

“ This is the burial place of the last remaining branch of the Stures, whose ancient and royal lineage was illustrated by Steno, Svante, and Steno, three successive administrators of Sweden; deservedly, for their merits and virtues, styled Fathers of their country. But Svante, son of the latter Steno, raised to the dignity of count at the coronation of Eric XIV. and his sons Nicholas and Eric, both eminent in war and peace, fell victims to a violent death on the 4th of May, 1566. All that was great and noble could not soothe the iron heart of their sovereign. Reader, if thou art not equally unfeeling, deplore the unmerited catastrophe of such exalted virtue.”

A tomb

A tomb, erected in honour of count Oxenstiern, has been mistaken by some travellers for that which covers the ashes of Axel, the celebrated chancellor of Sweden, who directed the administration of affairs under Gustavus Adolphus, Christina, and Charles VIII. one of the greatest men that Sweden, fertile in great men, ever produced. But his remains were deposited in another place*. The person who lies interred in this cathedral is his nephew Benedict Oxenstiern, who seems to have inherited the political abilities and great integrity of his uncle. Benedict was born in 1623, and enjoyed the favour of four successive sovereigns; all of whom had the highest consideration for his talents and abilities. After filling several great offices, he was raised, in 1688, to the highest civil employment, the chancellorship, and died in 1702, in full possession of his master's confidence and the people's esteem.

Falko, the first archbishop who was interred in this church, was a great benefactor to the see; and is the same person mentioned in the former part of this chapter, who, in 1273, transferred the episcopal seat from Old to New Upsala. He also caused the bones of his predecessors to be transported from their burial-place in Old Upsala, to the cathedral, where they were deposited with great solemnity and many ceremonies †.

The

* Axel Oxenstiern died at Stockholm in August, 1654; and his remains were carried to Tyholm, and there interred in the family vault. Mem. de Christine, Vol. I. p. 484.

† Perinckioeld, p. 135.

The first protestant archbishop was Laurentius Petri of the province of Nerike, who, in conjunction with his brother Olaus Petri, first preached the reformed doctrines to the Swedes, and translated the Bible into his native tongue. Soon after the establishment of the reformation, the introduction of which was greatly owing to his labours, he was, in 1531, consecrated archbishop; and continued to fill the see with credit until his death, which happened in 1570, in the 73d year of his age.

In the sacristary of the cathedral are contained several relicks, both sacred and historical. The latter consist of a few curiosities, which I shall particularize from their allusion to the history of Sweden. The first I shall mention is an old log of wood rudely carved into the resemblance of a head scarcely human, and called the image of the God Thor, formerly worshipped in these parts; and to whom human sacrifices used to be offered at Old Upsala. That this image is of very high antiquity should seem evident from its rude workmanship; and it may probably have been one of the deities to whom the superstitious inhabitants paid their public homage; as, in early ages, and amid a barbarous people, the idols are in general of the coarsest form. With respect to the figure, I shall observe, that Dahlberg, in his *Suecia Antiqua et Hodierna*, has given an engraving of it by far too elegant to bear much resemblance to the original; but the reader will find a more accurate delineation in Perinskiold's *Monumenta Ulla-*

Ullarekarensia, in which no foreign embellishments are added.

A whetstone, several feet in length, next attracted my attention; which, as tradition relates, Albert, who in 1434 ascended the throne of Sweden, sent in mockery to Margaret of Waldemar, recommending her to sharpen upon it her own sword and the weapons of all her army: a taunt which he would willingly have retracted, when routed and taken prisoner by the very woman whom he affected to despise.

The third curiosity was a ragged stripe of linen fastened to a staff like a pair of colours, called the shift of Margaret; which was carried in battle as the main standard, in order to animate the troops by the recollection of her martial spirit. These remains were preserved at Nuremberg, brought from thence when that town was taken by the Swedes, and deposited in the cathedral of Upsala in honour of the Semiramis of the North. How this shift was first procured by the inhabitants of Nuremberg, why it was there considered as a relick, and the exact period when it was imported into Sweden, I must leave to be ascertained by those who are disposed to trace its history and adventures. I did not learn, however, that it has ever had the honour of giving a name to any particular colour like the shift of Isabella queen of Castile.

The kings of Sweden were formerly crowned in this cathedral; but that ceremony is now performed at Stockholm, Charles XII. being

the last monarch who was inaugurated at Upsala.

This town is particularly celebrated for its university, the most ancient in Sweden. In 1246 Birger Jarl established a school at Upsala; and in 1478 Steen Sture administrator of Sweden laid the first foundation of the university; the plan whereof had been formed, but not carried into execution, by Eric of Pomerania: the regulations were modelled after those of Paris. The institution was confirmed in a diet which met at Strængnæs on the 2d of July; and the university was opened with due ceremony on the 7th of October in the same year *. Gustavus Vasa warmly patronized it, as being the place in which he had completed his education; and as it was greatly fallen into decay, he conferred upon it so many additional privileges, and endowed it in so ample a manner, that he is justly called its second founder. Under John III. it was transferred to Stockholm; but again restored to Upsala by Charles IX. † During the constant wars in which that prince was engaged with his rival Sigismund king of Poland, it considerably declined; but was again revived by Gustavus Adolphus, whose extensive knowledge and protection of letters are lost in the splendour of his military achievements. That great monarch, beside constructing a large building at his own expence, endowed the university with his patrimonial estate of Vasa; by which donation the salaries of the professors

* Dahlin, Vol. II. p. 610.

† Mess. Scon. Illus. Tom. IV. p. 37. Dahlin,

professors were augmented, and 150 students maintained. His example was followed by his successors, as well as by several individuals; and as the funds have increased, the number of scholars supported by them have been considerably enlarged.

At the head of the university is a chancellor (who is always a person of high rank and consequence), chosen by the professors, and confirmed by his majesty: he regulates and explains the statutes; composes all material differences; and delivers all petitions and messages from the body to the king. When he is absent, his office is supplied by the archbishop of Upsala.

The presidency devolves by rotation upon one of the professors, who is styled *Rector Magnificus*: he is a kind of justice of peace; can punish the students for small delinquencies, by sending them to prison; and settles such differences as are too trifling to be laid before the consistory.

The university has its own court of justice, called *Consistorium Minus*, for the trial of the students and dependents: it is composed of a certain number of professors, and judges misdemeanors according to common law. An appeal lies from its decision to a *Consistorium Majus*, which is formed by all the professors; and from that in the last resort to the chancellor.

The professors are about twenty in number, of whom the principal are those of divinity, eloquence, botany, anatomy, chymistry, natural philosophy, astronomy, and agriculture.

Their salaries are from £70 to £100 per annum. Upon a vacancy in any of the chairs, one of three candidates, chosen by their body, is nominated by the king. During each term the professors give four public lectures in the week *gratis*; and the same number of private lectures, for which they receive from each of those who attend the stipulated sum of five shillings. A professor, who has continued in office for the space of thirty years, is allowed to retire with the title of *Emeritus*, and enjoys his salary during life.

Youth are admitted into the university of Upsala at about the age of sixteen, for the completion of their academical studies. They do not inhabit, as in our universities, any distinct college or colleges, there being no buildings for their accommodation, but lodge in the town; and repair to the general or private lectures, given by the several professors, either at their own houses, or at the public halls appropriated to such purposes. The poorer students are assisted in their expences by being appointed to scholarships, called *stipendia*; some instituted by the crown, others by private persons, but generally allotted for the natives of particular provinces. The highest in value of these scholarships amount to about £13. per annum. The common degrees, granted by this university, are *Philosophiæ Candidatus*, which answers to a Bachelor of Arts; and *Philosophiæ Magister*, to a Master of Arts. A student ought to be 24 years of age, in order to be admitted to his first degree; but this rule is not strictly observed,
Before

Before he receives it, he must undergo several examinations from various professors, and compose a latin thesis, which he is bound to defend in the schools. Having taken his first degree, he may immediately enter upon his exercises for the second, which consist in another Latin thesis, in holding a public disputation, and reading a lecture in the same language. The graduates in divinity, law, and physic, are styled *Theologiae*, &c. *Candidatus*, *Licentiatu*s, and *Doctor*. The doctors of law and physic, in order to obtain their degrees, pass certain examinations, and hold public acts in their respective professions, somewhat similar to those passed by the masters of arts; and the same forms are required from the doctors of divinity, unless, as is the usual practice, they are created by the university upon the king's mandate.

There is no academical discipline, the students being only liable to be punished by the president and consistory, according to the common law for misdemeanors and delinquencies. One institution, however, preserves some degree of order and subordination, the division of the students into provincial classes according to their respective counties. Each class has a professor at its head, called *Inspector*, and two subdirectors, styled *Curatores*: the other members are divided into *Seniores* and *Juniores*; the former of whom attend to, and, in some measure, regulate the conduct of the latter. Each class assembles separately, in the house of its particular professor, at least six times in the year, and oftener if occasion

casion requires. On these meetings the students pass certain exercises, which they who do not perform cannot be raised to the rank of seniors.

Though the students have ordinarily no regular dress, yet, on certain occasions, and particularly when they take their masters' degree, they appear in a black silk cloak; they ought also, according to the statutes of the university, to put on the same dress when they keep their acts; but for this omission they usually pay a small fine. The professors are, in days of ceremony, clad in black cloaks; the doctors of divinity are distinguished by a hat of black silk; the doctors of law by one of white silk; and those of physick by one of green or sky-blue silk.

The number of students vary every year, as in all fluctuating bodies; but upon an average may be stated at about five hundred *, as may be collected from the following table.

Spring Term.				August Term.			
	Admissions.	No. of Students.		Admissions.	No. of Students.	Acts.	
In 1768	79	557	—	99	493	31	
1769	94	552	—	116	568	54	
1770	127	649	—	87	461	68	
1771	106	492	—	88	488	45	
1772	99	538	—	97	470	44	
1773	130	569	—	83	563	62	
1774	137	604	—	102	594	36	
1775	133	628	—	115	657	64	
1776	103	575	—	110	514	91	
1777	115	531	—	113	541	51	

During

* Chronick der Universitat Upsala in Schlotzer's Briefwechsel, III. p. 166.

During this period of ten years were created 40 doctors in divinity, 23 in physick, and 151 in arts; and 47 theses were printed, which had been read before the university.

This university, justly called by Stillingfleet, "that great, and hitherto unrivalled, school of natural history," is certainly the first seminary of the North for academical education; and has produced, from the time of its institution, persons eminent in every branch of science. The learned publications, which have lately been given to the world by its members, sufficiently prove the flourishing state of literature in these parts; and the theses, composed by the students upon their admission to their degrees, would form a very interesting collection. Many of these tracts, upon various subjects of polite literature, antiquities, languages, &c. which have fallen under my observation, evidence the erudition and taste of the respective authors: among the works of this sort, which have widely diffused the fame of this learned society throughout Europe, are the *Amœnitates Academicæ*, or a Collection of these upon Natural History, held under the celebrated Linnæus, and chiefly selected by that able master. Dr. Pulteney, in the View of his Writings, gives the following account of this work: "In the year 1749 was published the first volume of a collection of Theses in octavo, under the title of *Amœnitates Academicæ*, seu *Dissertationes variæ, Physicæ, Medicæ, et Botanicae*. This publication has been continued, from time to time, to the completion of
" the

“ the seventh volume in the year 1769.
 “ These volumes, as soon as published, were
 “ regularly reprinted in Germany and Hol-
 “ land. It is supposed the first volume was
 “ not originally collected by Linnæus him-
 “ self; but he at last reprinted it very early,
 “ and, that he might not be defrauded of the
 “ advantage of these publications, he became
 “ the editor of all the succeeding volumes.
 “ As these academical dissertations had been
 “ recited before Linnæus in his professorial
 “ character, and were selected by himself,
 “ they have been regarded as of equal authority
 “ nearly with his own writings; and many
 “ of them do in a particular manner illustrate
 “ and exemplify divers parts of his works, the
 “ subjects having been pointed out by him-
 “ self in many instances for that purpose.
 “ For these reasons we shall, in the course of
 “ this volume, give a very brief account of
 “ the purport of each dissertation, since they
 “ contain a great variety of curious intelli-
 “ gence on the subjects of physick and natu-
 “ ral history, every where digested in the most
 “ scientifick taste *.”

The library contains many valuable books
 and manuscripts. Olaus Celsius, in a publi-
 cation upon this subject †, informs us, that it
 owes its origin to Gustavus Adolphus, who
 presented the university as well with his own
 private collection, which was very considera-
 ble, as with several libraries obtained in the
 different

* General View of the writings of Linnæus, p. 45. p. 221
 to 373.

† Bib. Upsal. Historia.

different countries which he had over-run with his arms; it being his custom to reserve for himself, in all towns taken by storm, the books especially, as his share of the plunder †. Thus the Jesuits' library at Riga, that at Wurstenburgh, and those of many other conquered towns in Poland, Germany, and Prussia, were transmitted to Upsala. His example was followed by his successors; and thus the victorious arms of Sweden enriched the kingdom with these literary acquisitions. Olaus mentions Christina as a considerable benefactress to this library, and enumerates many private donors; among whom the most conspicuous are count Magnus de la Gardie, and Sparwenfeldt, the learned traveller *, whose curious collection, consisting, among others, of many rare Arabian, Syriac, and Coptic manuscripts, has been thought worthy of a separate publication.

Among the most valuable pieces of literary curiosity is a manuscript of the Four Gospels, called, from its silver letters, the *Codex Argenteus*; and which is supposed to be a copy of the Gothic translation made by Ulphilas, the apostle of the Goths in the fourth century. I examined this curious volume with great attention. It is of a quarto size; the leaves, which I scarcely know whether to call vellum, parchment, or papyrus †, are stained with a violet

† Ingentem auri argentique prædam militibus reliquisset rex, sibi solos reservavit libros, quos sine morâ in patriam misit, Upsaliensi Bibliothecæ inferendos. Ibid. p. 21.

* Catalogus Centuriæ Lib. Rariss. &c.

† Le Long Bib. Sac. where it is called by different persons
Codex

violet colour; and upon this ground the letters, which are all capitals, were afterwards painted in silver, except the initial characters and a few passages in gold. I was convinced, from a close inspection, that each letter was painted, and not formed †, as some authors have asserted, by a hot iron upon leaves of gold and silver. Most of the golden characters were become green by time; but the silver letters are still in good preservation. The codex is mutilated in several places; but what remains is, for the most part, perfectly legible.

This manuscript was, in 1597, first discovered in the library of the Benedictine Abbey of Werden in Westphalia, by Anthony Marillon, who extracted from it a few passages which were inserted in a Commentary on the Gothick alphabet published by Bonaventura Vulcanius. Soon afterwards Arnold Mercator observed it in the same library, and transcribed also a few verses which Gruter * gave to the world in his *Inscriptiones Antiquæ*. From the Abbey of Werden it was transferred to Prague during the short period in which that

Codex Membranaceus, Codicem in pergamento, Codex in papyro exaratus. In the Bib. Up. Codex membrana rubra, p. 116. By Michaelis, a manuscript on vellum, p. 160.

† They appeared to me to be drawn, or painted, in the same manner as the initial letters in several of the finest Missals, and not stamped, as the learned Mr. Ihre conjectures, or imprinted on the vellum with hot metal types, in the like manner as the bookbinders at present letter the backs of books. See North. Ant. Vol. I. p. 367.

*Gruter Inf. Ant. p. 146. He calls it Gothica vel Germanica. The curious reader, who compares the text in Gruter with that of the similar passages in Lye, will observe considerable inaccuracies in the former.

that town was occupied by Frederick Elector Palatine. In 1648, Prague being stormed by the Swedes, it was found among the literary spoils by count Konigsmark, and sent as a most valuable present to Christina. The queen is said to have given it to Isaac Vossius; but it is most probable that the crafty Dutchman took it without permission, among many other rare books and manuscripts, when he pillaged † her majesty's library during the confusion which preceded her abdication. Upon the death of Vossius it was purchased from his executor by count Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie for about £.250, and presented by him to the university of Upsala, where it now remains.

Three editions of this *Codex Argenteus* have been given to the publick, the first printed at Dort, the second at Stockholm, and the third at Oxford. The first was issued at Dort in 1665, by Francis Junius, who borrowed the manuscript from Vossius, and was accompanied with Observations and a Glossary, by Thomas Marshall. In this edition the text was a *fac-simile* of the original §.

The second edition was published at Stockholm, 1672, by the learned Stiernhielm; it differs

† Memoires de Christine, vol. I. p. 308. In the library at Leyden is still preserved a curious collection called *Furta Vossiana*, which he is supposed to have pillaged from Christina's library.

§ Another impression of this work is supposed to have been printed at Amsterdam in 1672; but this is in reality the same as the former, with nothing more than another title page, affixing a new date and place of impression, according to a fraud not unfrequent among booksellers.

differs from that of Junius, in giving the text in Latin, and not in Gothick characters.

Notwithstanding the reputation of those two learned editors for their critical skill and exactness, yet Benzelius, first librarian of the university, and afterwards archbishop of Upsala, upon comparing their texts with that of the original, discovered so many false readings and omissions, that he again collated the manuscript, rectified the mistakes, and made a literal translation in the Latin tongue. And as the Gothic types of the first edition published by Junius were preserved at Oxford, he transmitted these collations and translation, together with various observations, to Mr. Edward Lye of Oxford, who had already distinguished himself by his knowledge of the antient Northern languages *. The work was cheerfully undertaken, and faithfully executed, by that judicious scholar; and the third edition made its appearance in the year 1750 printed at the Clarendon press. To the observations of Benzelius, Mr. Lye added many learned remarks upon the text and version, and a Gothick Grammar. This impression is esteemed, by those who have had it in their power to compare it with the original Codex, a most complete work, and redounding greatly to the honour of the editor's accuracy.

The *Codex Argenteus* has given rise to a curious controversy among the learned. In the examination of this manuscript, different persons have thought that they discovered a
similitude

* Hist. Bib. Up.

similitude in the characters of those of the Greek, Latin, Finnish, Runick, Danish, German, or Gothick; each adopting an opinion according to his favourite hypothesis, and referring its original to the ancestors of his own country. Nor is this a matter of any surprize; for as the barbarous nations, who were converted to Christianity by the Greeks and Romans, received from them either a new alphabet, or, at least, several new characters; it necessarily follows, that most of the antient letters used by the Goths, Franks, Huns, Sclavonians, and other bordering nations, must bear in many points a great affinity to each other, so that a framer of a fanciful system may readily conceive a resemblance in the whole, which exists only in a few parts. But without entering into an inquiry which may lead us too far, the question concerning the original tongue of the *Codex Argenteus* is reduced to two opinions; the first, that it is written in the same language and character as were used in the fourth century by the Goths of Mæsia, the ancestors of the present Swedes, and is a true copy of the version made by Ulphilas; the second, that it is a translation in the Frankish idiom.

The first opinion is strongly supported by Junius, Stiernhelm, David Wilkins, Benzeli-
lius, and Lye; the second, as warmly defended by Hickes, La Croze, Wettstein, and Michaelis. To enter into a discussion of all the arguments advanced on both sides with equal erudition, would require a larger compass than the nature of this work will admit;
and

and to give a partial abstract of them would only invalidate their respective strength. Thus much is certain, that as the reasonings admit not of any positive evidence on either side, but are chiefly drawn from vague conjectures, an unprejudiced inquirer will find it no easy matter to form a decisive and satisfactory judgment. I shall refer, therefore, the inquisitive reader, for further information, to the several writers upon this subject; and shall add only that with respect to my own opinion, after having minutely weighed the arguments on each side, I am inclined to assent to the notion that the *Codex Argenteus** is a copy of the very original version made by Ulphilas in the Gothick idiom. I was once indeed leaning to the opinion of its being a Frankish version, but was induced to alter my judgment from the arguments of Benzeli^{us} and Lye, in the Preface to the Oxford edition†, and especially from a very ingenious treatise, published by Ihre‡, by which it appears, that several specimens of the Ostrogothick tongue have been lately discovered in Italy, which perfectly resemble both the characters and language of the version in the *Codex Argenteus*.

But

* See the several editions of the *Codex Argenteus* by Junius, Stiernhelm, and Lye. Hickes Gramm. Mæso Gothica in his *Thesaurus Ling. Sept. La Croze Diss. Philol.* at the end of Chamberlayne's *Orat. Dom.* p. 136. Weststein's *Proleg.* in *Nov. Test. sect.* 68 to 71. *Bib. Up. Hist.* p. 116 to 123. *Le Long, Bib. Sac. Vol. II.* p. 140 and 538.

† Preface to Lye's *Sac. Evan. Evan. Vers. Goth.*

‡ *Monumentum veteris linguae Ostrogothicæ Neapoli haud pridem repertum, &c.* In *Aët. Nov. Reg. Scien. Upsal. Vol. III.* See also *Dahlia. Vol. I.* p. 204.

But to which soever side we may incline, as both the Gothick and Frankish idioms were dialects of the Teutonick or German, this manuscript must be considered as the most antient specimen extant of that language. Its antiquity has been unquestionably proved without a dissenting voice. They who conclude it to be the version of Ulphilas, must of course hold it to have been made in the middle of the fourth century : and even those authors§ who contend for its being a Frankish translation, allow it to have been copied in the reign of Chilperic between 564 and 587. Its high antiquity is proved, as well from its containing the doxology at the end of the Lords' Prayer, in the thirteenth verse of the sixth chapter of St. Matthew, which is not to be found in any of the most antient versions, as from its interpreting many passages in a similar manner with several of the Latin translations which are known to have been antecedent to the vulgate of St. Jerome*.

Another circumstance worthy of notice, and which enhances its value, is, that it was undoubtedly translated from the original Greek, and not from any of the Latin versions†.

We will not detain the reader with idle conjectures from Watchterus‡, that this splendid Codex belonged to Alaric the Gothick king

§ La Croze and Michaelis.

* Le Long, Bibliotheca Sacra. Vol. II. p. 142.

† Prefatio in Lye, cap. 2 : and Michaelis, Lectures, p. 165.

‡ Bib. Up. Hist. p. 118.

king of Toulouse; or of Papebroch§, that it was the identical exemplar, which the emperor Valens presented to Fritigern general of the Visigoths established in Mæsia; but shall conclude by observing, that to whomsoever it belonged, or by whomsoever translated, it must be considered as a work of great authority, and a literary treasure of high antiquity||.

In this library two original manuscripts of the unfortunate Eric XIV. caught my attention. They are in Latin, and were composed in 1566 and 1567, the two years which immediately preceded his deposition. They contain his astronomical, or rather astrological, observations and predictions written with his own hand after his daily examination of the state of the heavenly bodies. The names of his brothers occur frequently, accompanied with great marks of suspicion and distrust, and the deaths of several persons are predicted. Some historical facts are blended occasionally with the observations; and these notes afford a most convincing proof of the distracted state of Eric's mind, at the same time that they discover evident traces of his great learning and extensive erudition. Upon examining a few of his notes, I was struck with the resemblance between him and the emperor Rhodolph II. Both these sovereigns began

§ Le Long, Vol. II. p. 531.

* Another fragment of this curious manuscript, containing a few chapters of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, was found at Wolfenbüttele, and is now preserved in the library of that town, where I saw it in 1777. The original letters were partly erased and written upon. See Nonnulla cap. Epist. Pauli ad Rom. published at Brunswick by Fran. Anton. Knitell.

gan their reigns with the fairest hopes; both were not only the zealous protectors of learning, but even men of letters themselves, as well versed in polite literature as skilled in the abstruser sciences*; both were strongly addicted to judicial astrology, and drawing from the various combinations of the heavenly bodies a presage of their own good or ill fortune, in the most common as well as the most important occurrences of life. Both were jealous, even to misery, of their relations and subjects; and both were at length deposed by their brothers, whom they had driven by their suspicions to conspire against them; with this difference only, that Rhodolph, though compelled to renounce the imperial throne in favour of Matthias, yet remained king of Bohemia until his death, and was not, like Eric, imprisoned and murdered. Rhodolph, indeed, though equally jealous and suspicious, was not guilty of such excesses and cruelties as disgrace the reign of Eric; but both were equally incapable of governing, though endowed with excellent understandings, and acquainted with every branch of science.

There are in this library of Upsala few manuscripts of the classics of much impor-

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P

tance;

* Celsus says of Eric XIV. "Erat ille plurimis scientiis ita instructus, ut majorem certe a literis quam a sceptro gloriam reportaverit." Bib. Ups. Hist. p. 4. And Voltaire says as justly of Rhodolph II. "La philosophie qu'il cultive, lui avait appris tout ce qu'on pouvait savoir alors, excepté à remplir son devoir, de Souverain. Il aimait beaucoup mieux s'instruire avec le fameux Ticho Brahe, que tenir les états de Hongrie et de Bohême." Hist. Univ. c.

tance ; but the printed editions are numerous and good.

Having desired the librarian to shew me the first book printed in Sweden, he pointed out to me *Dialogus Creaturarum moralizatus*, put forth at Stockholm in 1483, by John Snell, a German printer, invited into Sweden by the administrator Steen Sture.

Before I close my account of the university library, I must take notice of a beautiful cabinet of ebony and cypress, ornamented with precious stones, which was presented, in 1632, by the city of Augsburgh to Gustavus Adolphus. It contains, among other pieces of curiosity, a large agate, two spans long, and one and an half broad. On one part of the stone is painted the Day of Judgment ; and on another the Passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea. The figures are done in a very good style of colouring, similar to that used by the German painters immediate successors of Albert Durer. The artist has very ingeniously expressed the clouds and the water by the natural tints and shades of the stone ; and indeed they represent, with as much boldness and nature as the finest painting could effect, the wall of water suspended for a passage to the Israelites, and the waves rolling back with fury upon Pharaoh and his host. The artist, whose name was John King, has drawn his own portrait lying at the feet of the pope among the blest in heaven.

I hold myself greatly indebted to the polite attention of Mr. Eric Michael Jant, sub-librarian,

brarian, who kindly accompanied me to the library, and favoured me in the readiest manner with every possible information. He was so obliging as to present me with several tracts upon the Icelandick, Lapland, and other Northern languages, Celsius's account of the library of Upsala, and other rare dissertations, from which I have drawn considerable intelligence.

I waited, with a letter of recommendation, upon Mr. Bergman, professor of chemistry in the university, whose fame stands high among the learned of all nations, and whose reputation is deservedly established for his useful and accurate researches, as well in his own laboratory as in every branch of natural history. The learned professor received me with great politeness and cordiality, and shewed me his cabinet, which is particularly rich in Swedish minerals. He obligingly communicated to me much intelligence in a very long and interesting conversation which I had the pleasure of holding with him, and which made me regret that my stay in Upsala was so short, that I could not derive any further information from a person of such general and accurate knowledge.

Upon my return to the inn, I immediately noted down the principal heads of the discourse; the substance whereof I shall here literally transcribe from my journal.

In answer to my inquiries concerning the state of the Swedish mines, he informed me, that there were as well gold and silver, as copper and iron mines: the produce of the first,

though very inconsiderable, is remarkable for yielding the native gold in a calcareous matrix. Those of the silver are somewhat more profitable; but that quantity of ore is greatly diminished within these late years. The copper mines of Fahlun are extremely rich; but I could not remember the general state of their produce, and the average proportion of metal drawn from an hundred weight of ore. With respect to the iron mines, the most important of all the native productions of Sweden, those of Danamora are the finest for the quality of the metal, although they are not so rich as several in Lapland; the latter sometimes producing even 90 pounds of pure iron in an hundred weight of ore. The poorest of Danamora yield 30 pounds, and the richest from 60 to 70, in an hundred. The iron of this celebrated mine is in the highest estimation, and is chiefly exported to England for the steel manufactures. The matrix of this ore is a calcareous earth, a very remarkable circumstance; and which, in conjunction with other causes not yet discovered, is perhaps one occasion of the superior quality of its metal. He added, that in general the iron mines of Sweden are found to run in veins, a few in Lapland excepted, which do not branch out in longitudinal directions, but consist of immense masses of ore*.

I next

* To these may be added the noted mountain Taberg in Smaland, which is one mass of rich iron ore. It is above 400 feet high, and three English miles in circumference. A description of this mountain, and a view of it, sent by Dr. Ascanius to the late Mr. Peter Collinson, was published in the
Phi-

I next inquired concerning the quantity of granite rock, which I had observed in different parts of Sweden, as well lying in detached masses, as forming ridges of mountains: to which the professor made answer, that granite is the basis of the country, particularly of the Northern parts; that hills of gravel and sand, and calcareous stone containing petrefactions of shells, are indeed not unfrequent, but generally repose upon granite; that the granite is both red and grey; that the former more readily crumbles and decomposes by the lapse of time; and that almost all the old Runick monuments existing in the country are of the grey species, which is by far the most durable†.

The Royal Society at Upsala is the oldest literary academy of that kind in the North. It took its rise in the year 1720 upon the following occasion. Benzelius†, librarian to the university, and afterwards archbishop of Upsala, undertook in conjunction with some other learned men, a review, as well of all books

Philosophical Transactions, Vol. XLIX. There is also an account of this most insulated mass of ore in the Acts of the Royal Academy of Stockholm, Vol. XXI. for the year 1760, communicated by M. Tillas. This mine has been worked for 200 years past.

† For some account of professor Bergman's works, see Chapter VIII. of this book.

† Eric Benzelius was born at Upsala in 1673, where he began and completed his studies. Having travelled into Germany, England, and France, he returned to Upsala in 1702, and was appointed librarian to the university, an office which he held for 22 years. In 1724 he was nominated professor of divinity; afterwards successively created bishop of Gotheborg, Lindkioping, and archbishop of Upsala. He died in 1743, aged 70. Celsii Bib. Up. Hist. p. 149.

books published in Sweden, or by Swedes abroad, as of those works printed in foreign countries, which had any relation to this kingdom. As this publication contained also, beside the mere reviews, a few original acts, it was called *Acta Literaria Sueciæ*; and was carried on upon this plan for ten years. At the end of that period, namely, in 1730, the transactions were no longer confined to a review of books, but consisted intirely of original acts and dissertations; and the society, now patronized by the king, styled itself, in the dedication to his Majesty, *Societas Regia*; and its transactions, which came out annually, *Acta Literaria et Scientiarum Sueciæ*.

In 1740 it assumed the title of *Societas Regia Literaria et Scientiarum Upsaliensis*, adopting the last expression instead of *Sueciæ*, in order to distinguish it from the Academy of Stockholm, instituted in 1739, which was denominated *Societas Regia Sueciæ*.

The Society continued its publications upon the same plan until 1750, when it ceased; but was again revived in 1773, at which period its transactions were issued under the title of *Nova Acta Regiæ Societatis Scientiarum Upsaliensis*. These acts make their appearance in separate parts, which are not put forth regularly every year, but only occasionally, as there are a sufficient number of dissertations; and as the society, which has no fund, can afford the expence of printing. They are all written in the Latin tongue, and printed in quarto. The original numbers, namely, those issued from 1720 to 1750, are comprized

ed in six volumes. The new acts already published are in four parts; the first appeared in 1773; and the last in 1783.

Many of these dissertations have considerable merit; they treat of a great variety of subjects, as well relative to the history, antiquities, and languages of the North, as to natural history. They contain several papers written by Linnæus and Bergman.

Before I quitted Upsala, I made an excursion to the place where the kings of Sweden were antiently elected; it lies about seven miles from the town, in the middle of a plain called Mora, and is still marked by the remains of several mutilated stones, one whereof is known in Swedish history by the appellation of *Morasteen*, or the Stone of Mora; upon which the sovereigns were enthroned with all due solemnity, and received the homage of their subjects. Their name and the date of the year when this ceremony was performed was at the same time inscribed upon another stone, as a publick memorial of their election. This appears from a very curious certificate* made by a publick notary, who, in

* " In nomine Domini, Amen. Anno a Nativitate ejusdem MCDXXX, III, Die Mensis Maii, hora vespertinæ vel quassia, Pontificatus Sanctissimi in Christo Patris ac Domini D. Eugenii Papæ IV. anno IV. in nova domo Capitulari ante Valvas Ecclesiæ Upsalensis sita, in mei notarii publici testimoniumque subscriptorum præsentia personaliter constitutus venerabilis D. Petrus, archiepiscopus ecclesiæ Upsalensis, nomine & ex parte capituli dictæ ecclesiæ Upsal ibidem tunc congregati me notarium subscriptum requisivit, ut assumptis iisdem testibus accederem ad lapidem vulgariter dictum Moresteen, in quo & super quem Reges Sueciæ de novo electi statim post eorum electionem consueverunt ab antiquissimis temporibus sublimari & inthronisari, investigaturus ibidem

in 1630, at the request of the archbishop of Upsala, examined the *Morasteen*, to ascertain the year in which Eric of Pomerania was raised to the throne. When I visited the spot, I observed ten stones, the largest whereof was only six spans long, two broad, and two thick, and which tradition reports to be the *Morasteen*. The others are exceedingly small. I could trace upon several the figures of a cross and globe coarsely carved; and upon one in particular, which was very antient, the three crowns, the arms of Sweden. I discovered a few traces of inscriptions, seemingly in Gothick characters, but so imperfect, that I did not attempt to decypher * them. A few years ago these remains of Swedish antiquity were covered only with a wooden shed, but they are now preserved in a brick building,

“ dem annum electionis in Regem Sueciæ illustrissimi principis domini Erici Regis moderni, ego memoratus notarius, infra scriptus una cum testibus subscriptis statim ad dictum lapidem Morasteen extra civitatem Upsalensem ad unum milliare in plano campo situm accessi et honorabilem virum D. Johannem Matthiæ, curatum ecclesiæ Danmark, quæ dicto lapidi vicina est ecclesia in testem assumpsi, et sculpturam cujusdam lapidis dicto antiquo lapidi Morasteen superimpositi diligenter inspexi et per testes infra scriptos inspicere feci sic præcise, ut sequitur, in eodem lapide insculptum inveni. Anno Domini MCCCXCVI. electus est in Regem Sueciæ in hoc loco illustris Rex Dominus Ericus calendarum Augusti (locus autem pro numero calendarum vacuus erat) super quibus omnibus et singulis præfatus Petrus archiepiscopus nomine, quo supra, me notarium publicum requisivit ut unum vel plura, publicum vel publica super præmissis conficerem instrumentum vel instrumenta.” Holberg, Vol. I. p. 500.

* Some persons have given an explanation of these inscriptions, such as the before-mentioned one of Eric; also A. D. 1448. d. 28 Junii electus est nobilis Vir D: us Carolus Canuti, Miles, natione Suecus in Regem Sueciæ. Dahlin, Vol. I. 167.

ing, constructed at his present majesty's expence in honour of his royal ancestors. An inscription in Swedish upon the inside walls enumerates the names of the several kings who was enthroned upon this spot. They are king Euge, 1060, with whom this custom is said to have taken its rise; king Magnus Ladilas, D. 1, 1276; Magnus Smek, D. 11, 1319; Eric XIII. 1396; Christopher, 1441; Charles VIII. 1448; Christian I. 1457; Steno Sture, administrator of Sweden, 1512.

Olaus Magnus relates, that the *Morasteen* was placed in the midst of twelve other stones in a circle. Camden thus describes a similar monument near the village of St. Buriens, in Cornwall. "Not far from hence, in a place called Biscaw-woune, are nineteen stones set in a circle, about twelve foot distant from one another; and in the center there stands one much larger than any of the rest. One may probably conjecture this to have been some trophy of the Romans under the later emperors; or of Athelstan, the Saxon, after he had subdued Cornwall*."

Olaus Wormius, however, more ingeniously conjectures, from the similitude of this monument to the *Morasteen*, and others in Sweden and Denmark, that it was the place where the antient Anglo-saxon kings were elected and enthroned†.

* Britannia, edit. 1569, p. 6.

† Monumenta Danica, p. 90.

C H A P. VII.

Botanical garden of Upsala.—Biographical memoirs of Linnæus.

THE botanical garden of Upsala, to which place I had the pleasure of being accompanied by the son of Linnæus, is small, but laid out with judgment; and the collection of plants, particularly exoticks, is numerous. I could not avoid regarding with enthusiasm this spot of ground, rendered celebrated by the residence of Linnæus; of whom it may be said, without exaggeration, that in the natural history of the globe, he left nothing unexplored.

I flatter myself, that many of the following authentic anecdotes of this great naturalist are entirely new to the English reader*.

Carl

* This account of Linnæus is chiefly extracted from a German translation of his Commemoration-Speech, delivered on the 5th of December, 1778, by Dr. Bæck, in the king's presence, before the Royal Academy of Sciences; and from anecdotes of his life by Fabricius. See Gedächtnitzrede Auf den Carl von Linnè, &c. von A. Bæck; and Einige nachere Umstände aus dem Leben des Ritters von Linnè; Von Johan Christian Fabricius, in the Deutches Museum, for May and July, 1780.—Fabricius, the author of this account, was the disciple of Linnæus: he is now professor of æconomy and natural history in the university of Kiel; and may be justly called the first entomologist in Europe. He has distinguished himself, among other publications, by the following works: Reise nach Norwegen.—Systema Entomologiæ.—Genera Insectorum.—Philosophia Entomologica.—Species Insectorum.

Carl Von Linnè, or, as he is more known to foreigners, Linnæus, the eldest son of Nils Linnæus, a Swedish divine, was born on the 24th of May, 1707, at Ræshult, in the province of Smoland. His inclination for the studies, in which he afterwards made so wonderful a progress, commenced at a very early period of his life, and took its rise from the following circumstance. His father used to amuse himself in the garden of his parsonage with the cultivation of plants and flowers. Linnæus, while an infant, was soon led to take a share in this entertainment; and, before he was scarcely able to walk, expressed extreme satisfaction when he was permitted to accompany him into the garden. As his strength increased, he delighted in digging and planting; and afterwards obtained for his own use a small portion of ground, which was called Charles's garden. He soon learnt to distinguish the different flowers; and, before he had attained the tenth year of his age, made small excursions in the neighbourhood of Ræshult, and brought many indigenous plants into his little garden.

Being sent, in 1717, to school at Wexio, under the tuition of Lanarius, by whom he was indulged with the permission of continuing his excursions, he passed his whole time in collecting plants, talking of them, and making himself acquainted with their names and qualities. He was so absorbed in this favourite pursuit as totally to disregard his other studies; and made such an inconsiderable progress, that, upon his removal, in 1724, to the
gymnasium

gymnasium in the same town, his new master repeatedly complained of his idleness. Urged by these remonstrances, his father conceived his son to have no taste for literature, and proposed to bind him apprentice to a shoemaker *; and this destination would have taken place, if a neighbouring physician, whose name was Rothman †, struck with the boy's great genius, had not predicted, that he would, in time, become deeply skilled in a science, to which he seemed naturally inclined. This sagacious observer, having prevailed upon the father of Linnæus to continue his son's education, took the boy into his house, supplied him with botanical books, and instructed him in the first rudiments of physick, in which he soon made a considerable progress. When his father had assented to this advice, he had designed him for the church ‡; and was not, without great difficulty, induced to agree that he should apply himself to the study of botany and physick.

In 1727 he was sent to the university of Lund, where he acquired, under the celebrated Stobæus, the first systematick principles of natural history. Being lodged in that professor's house, he enjoyed many opportunities of improvement; and particularly from a curious

* Fabricius.

† Bäck.

‡ His mother was at first so chagrined that her eldest son declined entering into orders, that she would not even permit her second son to set his foot in the garden. This brother, whose name is Samuel, is still living: he is a clergyman in the province of Smoland, and, on account of his skill in the management of bees, is known by the name of Bi-Kung, or the Bee-King.

rious collection of fossils, shells, birds, and plants. At this place he began to form an *herbarium*, collecting plants from all quarters, making repeated observations upon them, and comparing them with the descriptions of Tournefort †, whose works he had received as a present from Dr. Rothman ‡.

During his residence at Lund, he prosecuted his studies with such unremitted attention, that he frequently continued them during great part of the night, in order to enjoy the use of several books which he secretly obtained from the professor's library. Once in particular, Stobæus suspecting that he had company at a very late hour, stole unobserved into his apartment, and was astonished at finding him employed in consulting the works of those great botanists, Cæsalpinus, Bauhin, and Tournefort. Pleased with this instance of his indefatigable zeal for science, the professor allowed him unrestrained access to his library and collections, and readily assisted him with advice and information.

Linnaeus did not confine himself to botany, but turned also his attention to the inferior orders of the animal kingdom; a branch of knowledge in which he eminently excelled, and which he was led to prosecute from a circumstance that would have damped the ardour of a less zealous inquirer. In endeavouring to form a collection of insects, he was stung by the *Furia Infernalis* * in so terrible a manner,

† Institutiones rei herbariæ.

‡ Bæck.

* The effects of the *Furia Infernalis* are thus described by Dr. Pulteney, from a Dissertation *De Miraculis Insectorum*, in
the

ner, that his life was endangered †. This event incited his researches to discover the nature and qualities of that venomous worm; which led him to develop and explain those numerous tribes of insects ‡ and worms, that had been but imperfectly described by preceding

the third volume of the *Amenitatis Academicæ*. "In Finland, Bothnia, and the northern provinces of Sweden, it was not unfrequently that people were seized with a pungent pain, confined to a point, in the hand, or other exposed part of the body; which presently increased to a most excruciating degree, and hath sometimes been suddenly fatal. This disorder was more particularly observed in Finland, especially about boggy and marshy places, and always in autumn. At length it was discovered, that this pain instantly succeeded somewhat that dropped out of the air, and in a moment penetrated and buried itself in the flesh. The Finlanders had tried variety of applications to no purpose, until at length a poultice of curds, or cheese, was found the most effectual in easing the pain; and the event confirmed, that the insect was allured by this application to leave the flesh; as on its removal, this worm, no longer than the sixth of an inch was found in it, and thus the cause of this painful disease explained. Linnæus himself once suffered from this animal the effect here spoken of: but we owe the complete history of it and its place in the System, to Dr. Solander, who gave it into the Royal Academy of Sciences at Upsal. (Nov. Ac. V. 1.) This worm stands in the System under the name of *Furia Infernalis*, p. 1325; but by what means this creature is raised into the air, is at yet unknown." General View of the Writings of Linnæus, p. 259.

† Back.

‡ "No part of the system of nature," writes Dr. Pulteney, "has undergone a greater change than this class; neither does our author stand more unrivalled, than in the excellent arrangement he has given to this branch of natural history; which, before his time, was nearly without method." p. 101.

And again, "The knowledge of insects may be said to be the last branch of natural history that raised its head; notwithstanding which, it has of late attained a high degree of perfection: nor can it be too much to attribute this to the excellent arrangement of Linnæus, under whose auspices it has extended itself beyond all other parts of zoology." p. 351.

ding naturalists; and afterwards to throw new light upon the whole animal kingdom.

In 1728 he was removed to the university of Upsala; where his narrow circumstances involved him at first in distresses unfriendly to the pursuits of science, but which did not, however, obstruct his usual exertions. His poverty is said to have been so great, that he frequently wanted the common necessities of life; and was even accustomed to wear the cast-off shoes of his fellow students, which he mended with pasteboard for his own use *.

From this state of penury, when he had no prospect of the smallest assistance either from his family or friends, he was suddenly relieved by the learned Olaus Celsius, professor of divinity, and restorer of natural history in Sweden, whose patronage he casually acquired in the following manner: Celsius, having frequently noticed him making observations in the botanical garden, was astonished at his proficiency in botany, the smallest knowledge of which was at that time esteemed a rare qualification in Sweden; and being informed of his distressed situation, immediately received him into his house, admitted him to his table, gave him access to his library, and engaged his assistance in completing his *Hierobotanicon*, a work ascertaining the plants mentioned in the Holy Scriptures. The favours of this respectable patron, conferred in such extreme necessity, he always remembered and acknowledged with the strongest expressions of reverence and gratitude. Soon

* Fabricius.

Soon afterwards he attracted the notice, and obtained the patronage, of Olaus Rudbeck professor of physick and botany, on the following occasion. An academical dissertation, *De Nuptiis arborum* †, being read in the public schools, Linnæus wrote upon it some observations, wherein he introduced several remarks upon the generation of plants, to which he had particularly turned his attention. These observations fell into the hands of Olaus Rudbeck, who was so struck with their sagacity and justness, as immediately to commence an acquaintance with the author: his abilities and knowledge being developed upon a nearer intimacy, the professor appointed him tutor to his sons, in some measure directed his studies; and thought him sufficiently qualified, though only in the 23d year of his age, to read occasional lectures in the botanical garden, by which means he obtained a small income. At this period Linnæus passed his days in herborising and giving lectures; and employed great part of the night in laying the foundation of the new system, which he had already planned. About this period he began to arrange his *Bibliotheca Botanica*, his *classer* and *genera plantarum*; from whence we may collect how early he had fixed the principles of that method, which he afterwards carried to such perfection.

His knowledge was considerably improved by a journey into Lapland in 1732, to which,

† The thesis is styled *Γαμος Φύλων*, sive de Nuptiis Arborum de quibus Dissertationem Philologico-criticam publico bonorum examini submittit Petrus Ulga, 23 Dec, 1729.

at the recommendation of Rudbeck and Celsius, he was deputed by the Royal Society of Sciences at Upsala, in order to investigate the natural history of that unknown region: but as he received only a gratuity of about £8 towards defraying his expences, he was obliged to travel almost the whole way on foot, which he performed with great alacrity and spirit. He commenced this expedition on the 11th of May, 1732; stayed some time at the mines of Fahlun; visited various parts of Lapland; underwent many hardships; escaped imminent perils; and returned to Upsala in the month of October of the following year, after having traversed near 4000 miles*.

During his tour he transmitted to the Royal Society of Sciences a *Florula Lapponica*, which was printed in their acts, and was his first publication: in this catalogue of Lapland plants, he disposed them according to the system afterwards called the Sexual.

Soon after his return he continued his lectures upon botany; and delivered others also upon mineralogy and the art of assaying metals, which were the first on that subject ever given at Upsala, and from which he acquired great applause. But being not entitled from his standing in the university to read lectures, a formal complaint was lodged against him by professor Rosen, physician to the king; and he had the mortification to receive an express prohibition from the academical consistory. Linnæus, who began to draw a comfortable

subsistence from these lectures, and saw no immediate means of maintaining himself, was so exasperated at this proceeding, that he drew his sword upon the professor, and might have proceeded to violence if he had not been prevented. In consequence of this outrage, he would undoubtedly have been expelled from the university, if his patron, Olaus Celsius, had not compromised the affair*.

In this juncture he was appointed to accompany the sons of Baron Reuterholm into Dalecarlia and Norway. During this tour he improved his knowledge of mineralogy, by visiting various mines and forges; and particularly at Fahlun, where he read lectures upon fossils and the art of assaying, which were much frequented: and at the same time he obtained the friendship of Dr. More, the physician of the place, to whose daughter he betrothed himself. It being the custom at that time to take a degree in some foreign university, and the situation of Linnæus not being adequate to such an expence, the young lady presented him with an hundred ducats = about £40. to take his doctor's degree at Harderwick in Guelderland*. With this view he commenced his journey in 1735, and proceeded to Copenhagen and Hamburgh, where he continued much longer than he had at first intended. At Hamburgh he gave a proof of his accurate knowledge in natural history, by discovering, that a celebrated snake with seven heads, belonging to the burgomaster Spreckelsen, and which had been long esteem-

* Fabricius.

ed a great wonder, was a mere imposition. Upon the first inspection, our naturalist perceived that the six heads, notwithstanding the art with which they were joined together, were jaws of weasels covered with the skin of snakes†.

Linnaeus, to whom an hundred ducats appeared an immense sum, thought his riches inexhaustible; and, remaining for a considerable time at *Hamburgh*, where he was pleased with his situation, he found himself, upon his arrival in *Holland*, reduced to extreme necessity, and unable to disburse the expence of a doctor's degree; he therefore applied by letter to *Boerhaave*, acquainting him that he was a person who had devoted himself to the study of botany, but who laboured under the most severe distresses. *Boerhaave*, the friend and protector of science, received *Linnaeus* in his garden: among other topicks of conversation, he pointed out the *Cratægus Aria*, and demanded, whether he had ever observed that plant; adding, that it had not yet been described by any writer? *Linnaeus* answered, that it was a native of *Sweden*, and described by *Vaillant*. *Boerhaave* supported the contrary; and, convinced of the justness of his assertion, because he had himself superintended the publication of *Vaillant's* work, immediately brought the book to *Linnaeus*; who, without hesitation, referred to the description, which accurately corresponded with the

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† The reader will find a plate of this fastitious monster in *Seba's Museum*, Vol. I. Table 102.

the plant in question*. From this specimen of his accurate knowledge in botany, Boerhaave became his patron, and recommended him to the protection of Mr. Clifford, by whom he was appointed superintendent of a botanical garden†, lately formed at a very extraordinary expence. In this new situation, highly adapted to his circumstances and genius, he received a salary of a ducat ‡ per day, and what was no less agreeable, he had the inspection of a garden rich in the choicest plants; and was not confined to any expence for obtaining every species of exoticks, and procuring the works of the most eminent botanical authors. In addition also to these favourable opportunities of increasing his knowledge, he travelled, at the charge of Mr. Clifford, into England and France. During only two years residence with Mr. Clifford, he gave to the publick many works § in various

* Fabricius.

† At Hartcamp, about three miles from Harlem.

‡ About 8s 6d.

§ *Systema Naturæ*, comprized, as Dr. Pulteney says, in twelve pages, and is the outlines of the succeeding editions—*Fundamenta Botanica*—*Bibliotheca Botanica*—*Musa Cliffortiana*—*Genera Plantarum*—*Viridarium Cliffortianum*—*Methodus Sexualis*—*Flora Lapponica*—*Critica Botanica*—*Hortus Cliffortianus*—*Artedi Ichtyologia*—*Classes Plantarum*. "We cannot sufficiently," says Dr. Bæck, with justness, "wonder how, within so short a space as two years, during "which period he was so constantly occupied in arranging "the plants of Clifford's garden according to his system, and "was so continually interrupted by foreign visitors, Linnæus "could also find time to put forth so many writings, each of "which would have been sufficient to have established the reputation of a man of learning; and these writings founded upon his own discoveries, and tending to give a new form to a whole science. The materials of some, indeed, " had

rious branches of natural history, which raised his reputation very high in Europe, and in which he discovered an amazing sagacity in methodizing and classing, with the nicest discrimination, the various productions, in the three kingdoms of nature.

In these publications he ventured, young and unknown as he was, to commit his new system to the world, which, undefended by its author, and supported only by its intrinsic merit, conquered all opposition from men of the first abilities and decided character*.

His residence in Holland, which had hitherto contributed in so essential a manner to his rise and improvement, was at length embittered by a very dangerous disorder that terminated in an ague. He became suddenly pensive, discontented, expressed an insurmountable desire to fulfil his matrimonial engagements; and was impatient to show himself in Sweden, where he flattered himself with the prospect of a most honourable reception. Having declined many offers of promo-

" had been collected and digested in Sweden; but it is a fact scarcely credible, that the *Hortus Cliffortianus*, a work which contains so much knowledge, should have been written and printed in less than nine months." For an account of these various publications see Pulteney, p. 16 to 30.

* Among others, the celebrated Dellenius, though he candidly acknowledged the merits of the Linnæan system, confessed that he was too far advanced in life to study a new arrangement. The same reasons may account for the coolness of reception he met with from Sir Hans Sloane, notwithstanding the following letter of recommendation written by Boerhaave: "*Linneus, qui has tibi dabit literas, est unice dignus te videre, unice dignus a te videri, qui vos videbit simul, videbit hominum par, cui simile vix dabit orbis.*" See Pulteney p. 12.

promotion in Holland, he quitted that country in the spring of 1738; and, after passing a short time at Paris, arrived at Stockholm in the month of September; where he settled as a physician, and married in the following year the lady to whom he had betrothed himself at Fahlun.

Linnaeus had returned to his native country full of the most sanguine expectations that his merit would be immediately recognized; but, to use his biographer's † expressions, "he was astonished to find that he was considered more as a stranger among his countrymen than among foreigners." He was so mortified at this disappointment, and at the small degree of practice which he at first obtained, that he had once resolved to accept the offers of his patrons in Holland; or to settle at Gottingen, at the earnest solicitation of the celebrated Haller. But although his acknowledged merit, and uncommon reputation, soon secured to him the patronage of several illustrious personages, yet he paid the usual tax of genius, by experiencing a considerable degree of envy and opposition; and though by these means he was at first involved in some difficulties, only a short period elapsed before he acquired an extensive practice. His most considerable and zealous patron was count Tessin, the first minister, whose collection he afterwards described in his *Museum Tessinianum*.

By the interest of that nobleman he obtained, in the beginning of 1739, the office of physician

physician to the fleet; and a stipend from the states for reading lectures in mineralogy upon the collection of fossils belonging to the board of mines.* Count Tessin also recommended him in such strong terms to their Swedish majesties, that they honoured him with their patronage. Under his direction the king formed a collection of quadrupeds, birds, fishes, and serpents, at Ulricisal; and the queen of insects and shells at Drottningsholm: both of which have been accurately described by Linnæus himself.

During his residence at Stockholm, he assisted, as I have before observed, in founding a literary society, which was afterwards called the Royal Academy of Sciences, and of which he was appointed the first president.

In 1741 he at length obtained the object of his warmest ambition, the professorship of botany in the university of Upsala. Upon the death of Roberg, professor of practical medicine and anatomy, Linnæus was appointed to fill his chair; which he changed, in 1742, with professor Rosen, for that of botany; he was at the same time appointed to superintend the physick-garden; and undertook to read lectures in botany, natural history, diateticks, on the knowledge of disorders, and the *materia medica*.

From this period he passed the remaining part of his life almost uniformly at Upsala.

He turned the first objects of his attention and care to the regulation and improvement of the botanical garden; which, at the time
of

* Bæck.

of his appointment to the professorship, scarcely contained 40 exoticks; but produced in 1748, notwithstanding the obstructions arising from the severity of the climate, 1100 species, exclusive of indigenous plants and varieties. His own collection of natural history was rich only in plants; a circumstance chiefly owing to the number of quadrupeds, shells, and insects, which he presented to their majesties for their cabinets at Ulricisal and Drottningholm. His herbarium was highly valuable, from the number and arrangement of the specimens.

By his incomparable lectures he raised the university to the highest repute, and induced many foreigners to resort to Upsala. He was always attended by a numerous audience; and his great art was not only in satisfying the curiosity, but in gaining the affection and esteem of the students. His lectures were distinguished by the conciseness and precision so conspicuous in his works; and yet were delivered with a spirit and animation which irresistibly caught the attention of his hearers; for he spoke with a persuasion which was inspired by his deep insight, his just conceptions, and his zealous ardour for the knowledge of nature *.

He

* Bæck and Fabricius. Nothing can mark the philosopher's passion for natural history more than these expressions in a letter to Mr. Pennant on the following occasion. Having received the first notice of the *Anomia retusa* Syft. Nat. 1151. No. 215. being found in a recent state from Mr. Pennant, who observed one adhering to a sea-plant drawn out of the Norwegian seas, he wrote to him, "*Pro gaudio exultans quod dexteris concham anomiam a nullo mortalium antea visam,*"
 "quaque

He diffused a sudden spirit of inquiry; and kindled among his students a new zeal for the study of natural history. During the first years of his residence at Upsala, he gave public herborising lectures in spring and summer, in the neighbourhood of that town. In these botanical excursions he was attended with a band of trumpets and French-horns, and sallied out at the head of 200 or 300 students, divided into detached companies. When Linnæus was inclined to explain any curious plant, bird, or insect, which had either fallen under his own notice, or was brought to him by any of the students, the stragglers were called together by the sound of musick, and crowding round their master listened in respectful

“quaque faciem accenderas scientia naturali luculentissimam
 “in deperditis huc usque concharum generibus. De hac
 “conchâ die noctique cogito; de eo loquor hodie; noctu de
 “eo somnio.” Dec. 3, 1756.

In another letter to our English zoologist he thus acknowledges a present of his Synopsis of Quadrupeds, and candidly allows the merit of the work, although it differed in some respects from his own method of classing animals. “Diu auctivi D. Tröill fecim adduxisse dona tua, quæ avidissime expectavi. Redux tandem pridie ad nos accessit, et mihi obtulit Synopsin tuam of Quadrupeds et Zoologiam Indicam. Pro singulis grates reddo quas unquam possim calidissimas. Synopsin tuam legam et relegam millies. Multa in eo occurrunt lectu mihi jucundissima, et maxime utilia quæ in succum et sanguinem.—Perlecto hoc opere multa a te quæram nec unquam me ingratum sentias.—Non de methodo disputabo; mihi perinde erit utrum naturæ cultor sit Lutheranus, Calvinianus, Judaicus, aut Mahometanus, unice notitiam specierum quæram.—O utinam viderem reliqua tua opera imprimis de avibus, quam multa inde addiscerem quæ etiamnum me fugiunt.—Tua *Indian Zoology* perpulchra erat; pulcherrimæ figuræ rarissimarum certe avium; descriptiones etiam exactissimæ.—Vale plura proxime. Upsalæ, 1773, d. 2. Maii.”

The publick will soon have fresh obligations to Mr. Pennant, for his long expected work *The Arctick Zoology*.

spectful silence while he offered his observations *.

His reputation was now so widely spread in foreign countries, that he received the most flattering invitations to Peterburgh, to Göttingen, and particularly to Madrid, where he was offered by the king of Spain a very considerable stipend†, the rank of nobility, and the toleration of his religion. But the prospect even of the most splendid advantages could not seduce him from his native country, where he had acquired the esteem of his sovereign, and the general respect of his countrymen, which he maintained until the day of his death.

His services in promoting every branch of natural history were acknowledged in the fullest manner, and every assistance afforded to his endeavours to improve and diffuse his favourite science. A new house was raised for him, at the publick expence, close to the physick-garden: he was occasionally deputed by the states to make excursions into various parts of Sweden, with a view to the advancement of natural history. For this purpose, he, at different times, visited the Islands of Gothland and Oeland, the provinces of Skone and West Gothland; and communicated to the publick, in his native language, the Itineraries of his Travels, which are said to be replete with curious and philosophical observations,

* I am indebted to Sir John Cullum for this anecdote, who received it from Dr. Solander; and it has been since confirmed to me by Mr. Dryander, a Swedish gentleman, who frequently attended these botanical excursions.

† A pension of 2000 pistoles. Pulteney, p. 35.

vations, the general purport of which was principally directed in adapting natural history to œconomical uses. Many of his scholars * were also, under his auspices, dispatched to various parts of the world, at the expence of the publick, or of particular societies; and they all seem to have caught from their beloved master a spirit of emulation and zeal for science: the communications which he received from their unremitted labours furnished him with such information as enabled his comprehensive mind to appropriate, as it were, their discoveries, and to "exemplify" in a more perfect and detailed manner his "system of nature †." Thus his genius may be said to have diffused itself through the most distant regions of the globe; and his spirit still continues to animate the zealous disciples of the Linnæan school.

The following circumstances, relative to his decease, are related by his Swedish biographer ‡.

In May, 1774, while he was reading lectures in the botanical garden, he was seized with an apoplectic stroke; that was followed by a debility which he himself pronounced the forerunner of death. His limbs were affected to such a degree, that he could not be moved without

* Kalm journeyed to North America; Hasselquist to Smyrna, Egypt, and Palestine; Ternström, Tonerius, and Osbeck, to China; Rolander to Surinam; Læfving to Spain and North America; Forskæl to Arabia; Thunberg to the Cape of Good Hope, Batavia, and Japan; Sparman to the Cape and South Seas; and above all the much to be regretted Dr. Solander round the world.

† Pulteney, p. 34.

‡ Bæck.

without extreme pain and difficulty. In autumn, however, he was somewhat recovered, which he, in the enthusiasm of science, imputed to a present of several hundred rare plants, sent to him by the king. These plants, brought from Surinam by Dahlberg, a Swedish officer, were so well preserved in spirits, that their flowers, fruit, and leaves, were distinctly visible. He found great amusement and consolation in arranging and publishing a short description of them, under the title of *Plantæ Surinamenses*, which was his last performance. In June, 1776, he was afflicted with a second stroke of apoplexy, which reduced him to so weak a state, that, to use his own expressions, in his Journal, "Linnaeus limps, can hardly move, speaks unintelligibly, and can scarcely write." In the same year a paralytick stroke deprived him of the use of his right side, and confined him wholly to his bed. His strength gradually forsook him; his mental faculties were impaired; and an ague, attended by a dropfy, brought on a tranquil dissolution on the 10th of January, 1778, in the 71st year of his age.

His remains were interred in the cathedral of Upsala, with all the funeral honours which gratitude and respect could inspire. The king of Sweden ordered a medal to be struck expressive of the dejection of science upon the decease of Linnæus, and a monument to be erected over his ashes: his majesty also attended the meeting of the Academy of Sciences, in which his commemoration speech was delivered; and, as a still higher tribute to his memory

memory, lamented, in a speech from the throne to the diet of 1778, the irretrievable loss which Sweden had suffered from his death *.

The most trifling anecdotes relative to the person and character of such eminent men as Linnæus cannot fail of being particularly interesting; and our curiosity in these respects will be highly gratified by the following detail of a naturalist † personally acquainted with him; who represents him chiefly in private and domestick scenes, which, though they place every character in the truest light, yet too often escape the notice of biographers.

“ I had the good fortune of enjoying the
“ instructions, protection, and familiar ac-
“ quaintance of Linnæus, from 1762 to
“ 1764. No day passed in which I did not
“ see him; none in which I did not attend his
“ lectures, or converse with him in the most
“ friendly manner. In summer I followed
“ him into the country, accompanied by two
“ friends, Kuhn and Zoega, who were fo-
“ reigners as well as myself: in winter we
“ took up our abode opposite to his house at
“ Upsala; where he visited us almost every
“ day without form, in his red night-gown
“ and green cap lined with fur, and with his
“ pipe in his hand. His conversation was
“ lively and agreeable; he would amuse us
“ with many anecdotes relative to the natura-
“ lists both native and foreign, whom he had
“ formerly known; he would frequently re-
“ solve difficulties which occurred to us in the
“ progress

* Pulteney, p. 212.

† Fabricius.

“ progress of our studies, and often favoured
 “ us with occasional instructions. During
 “ our unrestrained intercourse, he would fre-
 “ quently burst into loud fits of laughter ;
 “ his countenance would brighten with plea-
 “ sure ; and his mind would expand with a
 “ degree of openness and freedom, which
 “ showed his natural inclination to sociable-
 “ ness and friendship. Not less joyous was
 “ our country life. We dwelled in a pea-
 “ sant’s cottage at a small distance from his
 “ habitation. Linnæus in summer general-
 “ ly rose at four* ; would frequently call
 “ upon us at six ; and, having breakfasted,
 “ would read lectures upon the *Ordines*
 “ *naturales plantarum* until ten. Then we
 “ attended him to the neighbouring rocks,
 “ where he had sufficient employment in
 “ describing and detailing their different
 “ productions till mid-day, the usual hour of
 “ his dinner ; after which we repaired to his
 “ house, and passed the evening in his com-
 “ pany.

“ Every Sunday we received a visit from
 “ Linnæus and his whole family ; on which
 “ occasion we always provided a peasant
 “ who played upon a kind of violin, and
 “ danced in the barn with infinite satisfac-
 “ tion. In truth, though our ball was not
 “ very splendid, our society not numerous,
 “ our musick not super-excellent, our minu-
 “ ets

* “ In summer,” says Dr. Bæck, “ he usually slept only
 “ from 10 to 3 ; and in winter from 9 to 6. Whenever he
 “ perceived himself fatigued with too much application, he
 “ quitted his study, and relieved himself with society.”

“ ets and Polish dances not diversified, yet
“ we amused ourselves not a little. The old
“ man, who generally sat smoaking his pipe
“ with my friend Zoega, and looked on,
“ would now and then start up and join him-
“ self in a Polish dance, in which he far sur-
“ passed the youngest of the company.
“ Those days and hours will never be for-
“ gotten by me, but will always be recollected
“ with pleasure.

“ Linnæus was small in stature, and ap-
“ peared still shorter from a habit of stoop-
“ ing. He was thin, but well made; and
“ when I knew him, age had already begun
“ to mark his forehead with wrinkles. His
“ countenance was open; almost always se-
“ rene; and his eyes were the most expres-
“ sive I ever beheld: they were small indeed,
“ but lively and piercing beyond description;
“ I do not recollect their colour, but their
“ glances would now and then penetrate and
“ read my very soul. The engraving prefix-
“ ed to the *Species Plantarum* is a very stri-
“ king resemblance of him. His mind was
“ noble; his understanding was quick and
“ acute. His great pre-eminence consisted
“ in the regular connection of his ideas;
“ and all his words and actions were orderly
“ and systematick. In his youth his memory
“ was strong, but began to fail at a very early
“ period of his life. I perceived several in-
“ stances of his not been able to remember
“ the names of his nearest acquaintance;
“ and once in particular found him in great
“ distress, having just written a letter to his
“ father-

“ father-in-law, whose name he had absolutely forgotten.

“ His heart was open to every impression of joy ; he loved pleasantry, and was fond of society ; an excellent companion ; cheerful and agreeable in his conversation ; of fanciful wit ; and possessed a happy talent of introducing and applying apposite anecdotes. His passions were strong and violent ; he was hasty and cholerick, but soon appeased. His friendships were warm and unalterable, and more particularly to his favourite scholars ; his attachment was always founded upon a love of science ; he was so fortunate as to experience few instances of ingratitude ; and it is well known with what zeal his disciples returned his friendship, and how frequently they engaged in his defence.

“ Though his love of fame was boundless, and his common adage, *Famam extendere factis*, the true image of his soul, yet this ambition had no other object than literary eminence ; and never degenerated into an offensive and unsocial pride. Nor was the rank, to which he had been raised by the favour of his sovereign, any otherwise agreeable to him than as a mark of his high reputation in science. In matters relative to botany he could not easily brook any contradiction : he thankfully, indeed, received and used the annotations of his friends for the improvement of his works ; but he disdained the attacks of his opponents, and, by never replying, consigned them

“ them to that oblivion in which they have
 “ long been buried. He was himself liberal
 “ in his encomiums, and not displeased with
 “ being admired, which seems to have been
 “ his principal foible: his love of praise,
 “ however, was founded on the strong per-
 “ ception of his own excellence; on his ac-
 “ knowledged improvements of natural his-
 “ tory; and upon the consciousness of being
 “ esteemed the first systematick writer of the
 “ age. Tournefort, as he often assured me,
 “ he had looked up to from his youth as the
 “ master whom he had proposed to imitate,
 “ and whom he soon surpassed in a very con-
 “ siderable degree.

“ His way of life was moderate and parsi-
 “ monious; and he has been accused of co-
 “ vetousness*. I cannot, however, but hold
 “ him in some measure excused, if he placed
 “ too high a value upon money, the want of
 “ which he had so long and so severely expe-
 “ rienced. It may also be urged in his de-
 “ fence, that the habits of extreme parsimo-
 “ ny, which he had contracted under the
 “ most pressing necessities, adhered to him af-
 “ terwards; and could not be shaken off
 “ even in times of affluence. I never, how-
 “ ever, perceived that his frugality degenera-
 “ ted into sordid avarice; and I can alledge
 “ my own example as an instance to the con-
 Vol. III. R trary.

* It is a sufficient refutation of the charge of avarice;
 “ that “ though he was extremely sparing in his own private
 “ expences; yet he was liberal in entertaining his friends,
 “ and in acts of charity; and that he always remitted to
 “ poor students what was due to him for attending his lec-
 “ tures.” Back.

“ trary. He refused in so peremptory a
 “ manner to accept the acknowledgment due
 “ to him for reading lectures to us during the
 “ whole summer, that we were obliged (after
 “ having in vain endeavoured to force it up-
 “ on him) to leave it secretly behind us.”

To the honour of his country and the present age, Linnæus reaped the advantage of his superior genius by the unsolicited accumulation of wealth and honours. In 1753 he was created a knight of the Polar-star, and ennobled in 1756.

His writings brought him, on account of their number, no inconsiderable emolument*; while his salary as professor, his practice as a physician, and the presents which he occasionally received from his scholars, rendered him easy and independent. He purchased in the neighbourhood of Upsala two estates, at Hammarby and at Sœfja, at the former of which he built a villa; and at his death bequeathed an ample provision to his widow and children. He left four daughters and one son, Charles Linnæus, who succeeded him in the professorship, and died on the first of November, 1783.

The name of Linnæus may be classed amongst those of Newton, Boyle, Locke, Haller, Euler, and other great philosophers, who were friends to religion; he always testified in his conversations, writings, and actions, the highest reverence for the Supreme Being; and was so strongly impressed with the

* A ducat, or about 9s. each sheet. Fabricius.

the idea of omnipresence, that he wrote over the door of his study : *Innocui vivite, numen adest.*

The great merits of Linnæus, as a naturalist, are to be estimated from the rude state in which he found all the branches of natural history, and the perfection to which he carried them ; in drawing order from confusion, and perspicuity from darkness : his understanding, comprehensive, yet accurate, was capable of combining and arranging an almost infinite variety of objects, which the magnitude of the greatest could not fatigue, nor the insignificance of the smallest elude. The mere catalogue of his works would make an ordinary pamphlet ; and it would require no small volume to trace even the outlines of his system, now distinguished by the appellation of Linnæan, which new methodized and reformed the whole compass of natural history. In these extensive and various pursuits, we know not which to admire most, his intimate knowledge, his fertility of invention, his indefatigable industry, his scientific arrangement, or that wonderful exactness in discriminating, where the minutest shades of difference are scarcely perceptible.

The reader, who is desirous of further intelligence concerning this great naturalist, will find his curiosity amply gratified from the perusal of Dr. Pulteney's "General View of the Writings of Linnæus." In that excellent publication the ingenious author has detailed a list of his numerous works, methodically classed according to the æra of their appearance ;

pearance; to which is subjoined a critical account of their general contents. He has also traced the progress, and laid open the leading principles of the Linnæan system, with a masterly precision and accuracy, which could only be derived from the most perfect knowledge of the subject.

C H A P. VIII.

Remarks on the writings of Wallerius, Cronstedt, and Bergman.—Analysis of the Sciagraphia Mineralis.

THE contents of this chapter being at my request communicated to me by Dr. Pulteney, I claim no other merit than that of giving it to the publick.

‘ The publick revenue and wealth of
 ‘ Sweden being intimately connected with
 ‘ the mines, particularly those of iron, mineralogy has been eminently encouraged
 ‘ and cultivated in that kingdom. To this
 ‘ cause we may, in a great measure, attribute
 ‘ the acknowledged skill of the Swedish chymists; as superior to those of many other nations: for how much soever we owe to the
 ‘ labours of Pott and Margraaff, and several
 ‘ other Germans, it is to the Swedes that we
 ‘ are indebted for the first rational system of
 ‘ mineralogy. Among those who principally
 ‘ taught the method of arranging these un-
 ‘ organized

‘ organized bodies, we must not omit the
‘ great Linnæus: he laid the basis of what
‘ may be called the classical foundation of his
‘ system, in the chymical analysis; having
‘ early distributed the earths into Calcareous,
‘ Vitrescent, and Apyrous, and established his
‘ orders and genera, on figure, colour, hard-
‘ ness, and other sensible qualities. This
‘ system was, in a great measure, adopted by
‘ Wallerius. But it is to Cronstedt that we
‘ owe the full and more precise disposition of
‘ these subjects, according to their constituent
‘ parts and principles: and it must be allow-
‘ ed, that the discoveries of the Swedish mine-
‘ ralogists and chymists have, within a few
‘ years, greatly advanced this branch of know-
‘ ledge.

‘ Wallerius published at Stockholm, in
‘ 1747, the first sketch of his system in the
‘ Swedish tongue; and he has preserved near-
‘ ly the same arrangement in the subsequent
‘ editions of 1754 and 1778. In the fol-
‘ lowing year he gave to the world a dis-
‘ sertation ‘On the Nature and Origin of
‘ Nitre;’ and in 1751, after he had been
‘ nominated professor of chymistry, metal-
‘ lurgy, and pharmacy, an academical dis-
‘ sertation ‘On the principles of Vegeta-
‘ tion.’ Soon after his appointment to the
‘ professorship, he printed in his native lan-
‘ guage, ‘An Epistle on the true Nature,
‘ Utility, and Excellence of Chymistry.’ In
‘ the next year, additional to his tract on
‘ Vegetation, he published another, relative
‘ to ‘The Methods and Use of rendering
‘ Seeds

‘ Seeds fertile, by washing or infusing them
 ‘ for a certain Time in various Kinds of Li-
 ‘ quors:’ and in the result he gives it as his
 ‘ opinion, that such methods are generally
 ‘ hazardous.

‘ In the same year Wallerius put forth,
 ‘ in the 7th volume of the *Acta Academiæ*
 ‘ *Naturæ Curiosorum*, a paper ‘ On the best
 ‘ Method of making Tar from the Pine and
 ‘ Fir Trees;’ in which he takes occasion to
 ‘ treat of the principles of Tar-water, the
 ‘ medicinal fame whereof had, by means of
 ‘ the Bishop of Cloyne’s *Siris*, spread over
 ‘ all Europe.

‘ In the same acts he has written ‘ On
 ‘ the stellated or arborescent appearance on
 ‘ the *Regulus Antimonii*;’ and gives direc-
 ‘ tions to prepare the regulus so as to suc-
 ‘ ceed in rendering the star visible; observ-
 ‘ ing, that it depends on the antimony being
 ‘ more or less deprived of its sulphur. This
 ‘ year produced from the professor a thesis,
 ‘ containing ‘ Some Strictures on the erro-
 ‘ neous Method of preparing certain Chy-
 ‘ mical Remedies:’ a signal proof of his
 ‘ application of true chymical knowledge
 ‘ to the real advantage of practical medi-
 ‘ cine.

‘ In the acts of the Royal Society of
 ‘ Stockholm for 1754, the professor has de-
 ‘ scribed the method of making, from mer-
 ‘ cury alone, the *arbor diantæ*, or what has
 ‘ been called the philosophical tree.

‘ In the same acts, Vol. XXI. for 1760, with
 ‘ equal ability, he inquires into ‘ the na-
 ‘ ture

ture of that earth which exists in all vegetables and animals as a principle of their composition; and he here takes occasion to speak of the method of obtaining pure earth of this kind, from water by trituration, as mentioned by Eller: a fact which has been much doubted, and disputed, by many subsequent philosophers and chymists. In these acts also, for the year 1765, we find the result of his examination of platina, by which it appears that he thought it a real metal, and not, as some have judged, either a recement, or a mixed metal.

In 1761, he published an academical dissertation, under the title of 'Chymical Principles of Agriculture,' in quarto, nearly of 300 pages; in which the various methods of fertilizing different soils, by manures, and other processes, are discussed. About the same time he wrote, in the Swedish tongue, a thesis, on occasion of some mischief done at Upsala by lightening, intended to prove the perfect similarity between the matter of lightening and the electrical fire.

In 1768 Wallerius gave to the world a large volume in octavo, in Latin, 'On the Elements of Metallurgy,' in which he has copiously delivered the principles of the docimastick art. The same year he also put forth what he calls 'Lucubrations on all the Systems of Mineralogical Writers,' and on the method of constructing a rational classification of the fossil kingdom. This is a work of much labour and erudition; and is highly gratifying to a curious searcher

‘ searcher into nature. He begins with the
‘ earliest writers on the subject, and follows
‘ them through each century to the present
‘ time. He has exemplified the latter part
‘ of his lucubrations in his own system, of
‘ which he published the first volume in a
‘ Latin edition in 1772; and the second in
‘ 1778. This work must be considered as
‘ his capital performance. The French edi-
‘ tion of 1754 had been in great estimation
‘ and constant use: this is much enlarged;
‘ and, by being rendered into Latin, is be-
‘ come more scientifick, and better adapted to
‘ general use. The great treasure of erudition
‘ and experimental knowledge which it con-
‘ tains, makes it unquestionably one of the
‘ most valuable books on the science; and, in
‘ defiance of all changes of systems or circum-
‘ stances in mineralogy and chymistry, it must
‘ long remain a striking instance of the labour,
‘ learning, and science of its author. Beside
‘ the excellent arrangement given to the
‘ whole subject, and the well-defined charac-
‘ ters of each class, order, and genus, it is en-
‘ riched at the end of each genus with copious
‘ *scholia*, containing the opinions of preceding
‘ authors on the several substances; and, after
‘ all these, his own idea of the true nature or
‘ composition of each. One of the latest of his
‘ works is his *Meditationes de Origine Mundi*,
‘ printed at Stockholm, in octavo, 1779, pp.
‘ 242. It is to be expected, that many of the
‘ principles contained in this work, relating
‘ to fire, light, fixed air, &c. and much of his
‘ reasoning, particularly on the inflammable,
‘ saline,

‘ saline, and aqueous principles in bodies, will
‘ not be received by all the philosophers of
‘ this country ; nor the theory of the formation
‘ of this globe, be thought satisfactory. Yet,
‘ the learning he has displayed, and his well-
‘ intended solicitude to reconcile his system
‘ and the changes of the elements, to the Mo-
‘ saick account of the creation, will ensure his
‘ work a candid reception among all who are
‘ inclined to speculate on these intricate sub-
‘ jects, and are friendly to religion.

‘ This learned man, after having filled the
‘ chair for thirty years with high reputation,
‘ resigned in 1767 the professorship, and was
‘ honoured by his sovereign with the order of
‘ Vasa. Wallerius is now above eighty, and
‘ still continues to enjoy, at his house near
‘ Upsala, a literary retirement.

‘ Axel Frederick Cronstedt, the excellent
‘ Cronstedt, as he is justly called, descended
‘ from a noble German family naturalized in
‘ Sweden, was a native of Sudermanland, and
‘ was born in 1722. He studied mineralogy
‘ under Wallerius, Swab, and Tilas. He
‘ commenced his walk in this field of science
‘ by a discovery which soon rendered him
‘ conspicuous, that of a new semimetal, cal-
‘ led Nickel. He gave the first intimation of
‘ it in a paper published in the Stockholm
‘ Acts, for the year 1751 ; and he detailed
‘ some experiments made upon it, in the same
‘ work, for the year 1754. In 1753 he pub-
‘ lished Observations ‘ on Gypsum ;’ and in
‘ the sixteenth volume of the Acts for 1755,
‘ gave a curious account of silver precipitated
‘ from

‘ from water in the Kongsberg mines. In
‘ 1756 Cronstedt distinguished himself by the
‘ discovery of the zeolite, which he first
‘ named, and separated as a distinct stone,
‘ consisting of a peculiar earth, as its basis :
‘ his observations on it were printed in the
‘ Stockholm Acts for that year. Professor
‘ Bergman has since found, by analyzing
‘ zeolite, that it consists of a mixture of sili-
‘ ceous, argillaceous, and calcareous earth.

‘ In the same Acts, vol. XVIII. for 1757, he
‘ published an ingenious paper, with a view
‘ to detect the colouring principle in the cow-
‘ wheat, (*Mesamylum arvense*), the stalks
‘ of which, when faded, acquire a fine blue
‘ colour. They yield this colour to water,
‘ and it is not destroyed either by vinegar, or
‘ spirit of vitriol, or by alkalis, unless boiled
‘ together with these latter; which led him to
‘ suspect that a vegetable dye, or pigment,
‘ might be extracted from this plant. In 1758,
‘ at which time he was director of the mines
‘ of Dalecarlia and Westmanland, Cronstedt
‘ published his ‘ Essay towards a system of
‘ Mineralogy.’ It was printed in the Swedish
‘ language, and without the name of the au-
‘ thor. In 1760, it was translated into Ger-
‘ man; and in 1770, into English; and is
‘ now in the hands of all diligent inquirers
‘ into the knowledge of fossils. Wallerius
‘ himself has called it *Opus sine pari*. The
‘ author, not being led away with what he
‘ calls *Figuromania*, but neglecting the exter-
‘ nal appearances of mineral bodies, has suc-
‘ ceeded beyond all others, in classing them
‘ according

‘ according to their constituent principles.
‘ This method obliges him to make no distinction between earths and stones; and
‘ to throw into an appendix all that are called
‘ figured extraneous fossils, which had held so
‘ distinguished a rank in former systems.

‘ In the Stockholm Acts for 1761, he has
‘ given some instructions relating to the choice
‘ of stone for building; and hints at the
‘ practicability of using the slag of iron smelting
‘ houses, by running it into * moulds for
‘ bricks; which hint is prosecuted in a subsequent paper of the year 1763, advising,
‘ that the lime which is used should be reduced
‘ into fine powder. In the same volume he
‘ communicates some observations ‘ on the
‘ Physical Geography of the Province of
‘ Jemtland in Sweden.’ In the 25th volume
‘ for 1764, Cronstedt delivered in a process on
‘ platina, when melted with nickel and sulphur; which he found recoverable in the
‘ form of black powder, by dissolving the
‘ mixed substance in aqua-fortis.

‘ It is to be lamented that this able man did
‘ not live longer, to improve still further that
‘ science he so much enlightened. He died in
‘ 1765, in the 43d year of his age.’

A posthumous work of this accurate mineralogist has lately made its appearance. For some time before his death he was employed in arranging and preparing for the press an account of the mines of Westmanland and Dalecarlia, of which he was superintendent.

A copy

• This is now practised at the forges of Bristol; and there are long ranges of wall near Bath covered with this material.

A copy of this performance, originally written by the author in the Swedish tongue, which he completed but did not live to publish, was fortunately procured by Mr. Georgi, adjunct to the Imperial Academy of Sciences at St. Peterburgh; who has given to the world a German translation of it under the following title *, ‘ Cronstedt’s Mineralogical Account of the Mines of Westmanland and Dalecarlia, from his own observations and researches;’ a work replete with much curious information, and remarkable for that accuracy and precision, which so highly distinguish all his other writings.

‘ I regret that it is not in my power to furnish the reader with more particular anecdotes of professor Bergman. He very early distinguished himself by a strong attachment to science; and was, at a young period of his life, made professor of mathematicks and natural philosophy in the university of Upsala. We find him, so early as the year 1756, in the 17th volume of the Stockholm Acts, correcting a mistake of the celebrated Linnæus; who, for want of more perfect information, had described, under the name of *coccus aquaticus*, the egg of a species of the leech genus; and, in the subsequent year, he gave an accurate description of that genus, which was afterwards generally adopted by Linnæus himself.

‘ In

* “ Mineral Geschichte ueber Westmanlandische und Dalecarlische Erdgebürge auf Beobachtungen und Untersuchungen gegrundet,” &c.

‘ In 1759 he published a paper containing
‘ A Review of the several Explanations which
‘ Natural Philosophers have given of the
‘ Rainbow;’ and, in 1760, some thoughts on
‘ the Origin of those kinds of Meteors which
‘ are not accompanied by any sensible sound or
‘ explosion;’ and a paper on the opinions held
‘ by philosophers, relating to the twilight; to
‘ which he has prefixed the account of Mai-
‘ ran’s *anticrepusculum*, or that of the horizon
‘ opposite to the sun.

‘ In 1761 and 1762 professor Bergman
‘ wrote, in the Swedish Acts, on the subject of
‘ electricity, in consequence of a correspon-
‘ dence with Mr. Wilson; and particularly on
‘ the electrical quality of Iceland chrystal, and
‘ double refracting spar. In the year 1763
‘ he again distinguished himself among the
‘ entomologists, by a paper on the *tenthredo*,
‘ or saw-fly, the caterpillars of which had
‘ commonly been confounded with those of
‘ the butter-fly and moth, until he discovered
‘ that the feet in the latter are never more
‘ than sixteen, but that in the *tenthredo* they
‘ always exceed that number. The same year
‘ produced from the author, a result of some
‘ electrical experiments, made with silk of va-
‘ rious colours, but which did not prove satis-
‘ factory.

‘ In 1767, on the resignation of Wallerius,
‘ Mr. Bergman was chosen to succeed him as
‘ professor of chymistry and metallurgy.
‘ How ably he has filled this chair, so honour-
‘ ably occupied by his venerable predecessor,
‘ is

is well known to all who are interested in these pursuits.

In the year 1764 the professor wrote a paper to ascertain, from a number of observations, the height in the atmosphere, at which the *aurora borealis* exists. He computes, that these appearances are sometimes so low as at 20 Swedish miles*; at others, that they are raised to 150: the medium he therefore fixes at 72. These observations were afterwards further prosecuted.

In 1765 and 1766 he wrote again on electrical subjects, and chiefly on the property and laws of electricity in the Tourmalin; which had been put into his hands, by the Royal Academy of Sciences of Stockholm, for examination.

In 1767 the professor published some important hints relative to the depuration of alum, at the alum-works; observing, that it was customary to employ alkali, in order to free it from the vitriol. He advises rather to use for that purpose the admixture of a portion of argillaceous earth, and proposes a tobacco-pipe clay.

A paper having appeared in the Stockholm Acts, for 1769, on the culture of pine-trees, Mr. Bergman also published in the same, 'An account of the Insects which destroy that Tree in Sweden;' and he attributes the devastation to the abundance

* A degree containing $10\frac{1}{2}$ Swedish miles; a Swedish mile = about $6\frac{1}{2}$ English miles.

‘ of the *tenthredo* caterpillar. In that kingdom, where such immense quantities of wood are consumed in the smelting furnaces, these matters are deserving of high attention.

‘ In 1770, in order to induce the Swedish chymists to prepare corrosive sublimate, which was then chiefly imported, our author published a paper, containing a recital of the various methods hitherto used to unite mercury with the marine acid; and he prosecutes the history of this combination in two subsequent volumes of the same acts.

‘ Some buildings at Stockholm having suffered by lightening in the year 1769, our author, and his successor in the professorship of natural philosophy, Mr. Wilkie, both published, on the subject of conductors to lightening.

‘ In 1771, Vol. XXXII. of the Stockholm Acts, professor Bergman gives some Instructions concerning the best Clay Compositions for making Tiles.’ In 1773 issued his observations on fixed air; or, as he chooses rather to call it, the aerial acid: this paper, and several others, printed before and after this time, either separately, or in the Stockholm Acts, have since been collected, and published by the author in Latin, in three volumes, octavo, 1779, 1780, 1783, under the title of *Opuscula physica et chemica**; *pleraque seorsim antea edita jam ab auctore*

* The following plan of this work is thus laid down by the

“ *auctore collecta, revisa et aucta*; and have
 “ further contributed to extend his fame,
 “ and most deservedly raise his character to a
 “ high rank throughout Europe. The au-
 “ thor proposes to carry on his miscellaneous
 “ publication on the same plan.

“ Dr. Troil’s account of Iceland contains a
 “ very curious letter from the professor, writ-
 “ ten in 1776, in which he introduces many
 “ judicious observations on the effects of
 “ subterraneous fires, on the origin and for-
 “ mation of basaltés, and the lavas and fossil
 “ products of Iceland†.

“ Professor Bergman has not confined his
 “ researches and inquiries to the mere analysis
 “ of bodies in the laboratory, but has extend-
 “ ed his views to what is called physical geo-
 “ graphy; and has ventured to give the world
 “ his lucubrations on the structure and for-
 “ mation of the earth, in a professed trea-
 “ tise on the subject*. His essay on the use-
 “ fulness of chymistry, lately translated into
 “ the English language, evinces, not only his
 “ extensive acquaintance with this science in
 “ a theoretical and practical way, but also his
 “ comprehensive view of the good effects its
 “ improvement must have on the interests of
 “ mankind.”

It
 the author himself. “ *Primo volumini præsertim Halurgica*
 “ *inferui, in secundo mineralogica et metallurgica prodi-*
 “ *bunt, in tertio attractionum doctrina, una cum analysi*
 “ *quorundam corporum organicorum, in quarto varia ad*
 “ *physicam et historiam naturalem pertinentia, et in sequen-*
 “ *tibus iterum chemica, si Deus vitam viresque largitur.*”
 Opus. Phys. Præf. p. xvi.

† See Troil’s Letters on Iceland, p. 338. 400.

* “ *Physick Beskrifning öfver Jordklödet, or Physical*
 Description of the Earth.

It may be proper to observe, that Mr. Bergman has composed two academical dissertations†, replete with much accurate information on the origin and progress of chymistry. In the first he treats of the rise of that art and its gradual improvement in a chronological series to the middle of the 7th century; in the second he carries his inquiries from that period to the middle of the 17th century; and it is to be hoped that he will in the same manner prosecute this subject to the present time.

In the fourth volume of the Upsala Acts, the professor has lately put forth *Meditationes de Systemate Fossilium Naturali*; or, Considerations on the Natural System of Fossils. This learned work is divided into two parts: the first, on their arrangement, treats of natural bodies in general, of the criteria of fossils in general, of their classes, genera, species, varieties; the second lays down rules for giving names to fossils; a great desideratum in this branch of natural knowledge; and which will tend to prevent that confusion and uncertainty derived from the want of precise, general, and specifick appellations.

“ The reader will not wonder that such
 “ extraordinary merit should have been duly
 “ noticed by the king of Sweden. That
 “ monarch has honoured professor Bergman
 “ with the order of Vasa*; and all men of
 VOL. III. S science

† De Primordiis Chimiæ in 1777. Chimiæ Progressus a Medio Sæc. VII ad Medium Sæc. XVII.—1782.

* Having omitted to give an account of the Swedish orders,

“ science will join in wishing that he may
 “ long fill the chair he now occupies so much
 “ to the advancement of science.”

The last work which I shall mention of this great chymist, is the *Sciagraphia Mineralis*, or Sketch of the Mineral Kingdom; which may be considered as heads of a course of lectures drawn up for the use of Mr. Ferbar, who obtained the author's permission to present it to the world. This short, but able tract, was first published in 1782, at Leip-sick

dera, I shall take this opportunity of mentioning them. There are four orders: the three first were instituted in 1748 by Frederick I.; and the last by the present king.

I. The order of the Seraphim, or the blue ribband; which is appropriated to persons of the first rank. It admits only of 24 members exclusive of the royal family and foreign princes. II. The order of the sword, or the yellow ribband, for the officers of the navy and army. There are three classes of this order: 1. Commanders of the great-cross, who wear the ribbands over the shoulders, and a star on their coat. 2. Commanders, who wear the ribband in the same manner, but without the star. Each of these classes contains 24 members. 3. Knights, who wear the small cross pendent from the button-hole. The number of these is indefinite, but generally amounts to above 1000. III. Polar-star, or the black ribband. Of this order there are two classes: 1. Commanders, who wear the great cross pendent round the neck. There are 24 of this class, but the king proposes to add four for the bishops. 2. Knights, who wear the small cross pendent from the button-hole, are, exclusive of foreigners, 48, to whom the king proposes to add six for the clergy. This order, before the institution of the following order of Vasa, was conferred upon men of letters. IV. The order of Vasa, or the green ribband, established at the coronation of the present king, is divided into three classes: 1. Commanders of the great cross, who wear the ribband over the shoulder, and the star on the coat. 2. Commanders, who wear the ribband over the shoulder without the star. 3. Knights, who wear the ribband over the neck. This order is conferred upon persons who have distinguished themselves in agriculture, commerce, the arts, and particular sciences; such as natural history, chymistry, medicine, &c.

sick and Deffau, and was immediately reprinted in England and Italy.

I shall here subjoin the following analysis of it by the same ingenious author to whom I am indebted for the former part of this chapter.

‘ The *Sciagraphia Mineralis**, although but
‘ the outlines of a system will be thankfully
‘ received by all mineralogists. Cronstedt
‘ laid the basis of the method pursued in
‘ this tract, and made an extensive progress
‘ in the prosecution of it. Bergman profes-
‘ ses to have adopted his ideas; and, after
‘ his example, begins by establishing the fol-
‘ lowing first principles.

‘ First, that of whatsoever value external appearance may be in the arrangement of organized bodies, as in animals and plants, yet it is not to be trusted in the classing of unorganized substances; colour, consistence, and texture, being too variable to be depended on as certain characteristicks. He by no means, however, disallows the use of these external qualities, since, to an experienced eye, they will greatly assist us in ascertaining the nature of fossils, and frequently direct to the shortest method of analyzing them. Secondly, It is only from a knowledge of the internal composition, that the classes, genera, and species of fossils are to be determined, and the external appearance must be referred to the dis-

• This tract has been lately translated by Dr. Withering. See outlines of Mineralogy from the original of Sir Torbern Bergman, &c.

' tinction of varieties only. Thirdly, In ge-
 ' neral, the principle or matter which
 ' abounds most in any substance, is to deter-
 ' mine its place in the system. But this law
 ' must be subject to exceptions, where one of
 ' of the compounds is, as a base, the most
 ' important part of the mixed body. This
 ' holds in the earths, and particularly in the
 ' ores of metals. Fourthly, The solid prin-
 ' ciples must usually be admitted to form the
 ' generical character, although it should exist
 ' in a less proportion than the fluid part. To
 ' instance in magnesia, gypsum, and alum,
 ' in all which the genus is determined from
 ' the solid ingredient, or the earth, and not
 ' by the fluid part or vitriolick acid, although
 ' the quantity of the latter greatly exceeds
 ' that of the former.

' The specifick characters are to be de-
 ' ducted from the different combinations and
 ' proportions of the several principles in
 ' each.

' All mineral bodies fall into four great
 ' classes: I. Salts; II. Earths; III. Bitu-
 ' mens; and, IV. Metals.

' CLASS I. SALTS.

' Salts are acid, alkaline, neutral, earthy,
 ' and metallick. In this class, to the three
 ' well-known acids of vitriol, nitre, and sea-
 ' salt, the author, beside introducing the
 ' phosphorick acid as a principle, has joined
 ' also the fluor acid; the acid of arsenick;
 ' one newly discovered in black-lead, called
 ' the acid of *molybdena*; one called the acid
 ' of *calx ponderosa*; the acid of borax; that
 ' of

‘ of amber; and lastly, the aerial acid, or
‘ fixed air.

‘ The fluor acid, first discovered by Mr.
‘ Scheele, has, while in the form of vapours,
‘ the power of corroding glass, and with water
‘ forms siliceous earth*. It is found united
‘ to a calcareous base in the *fluor mineralis*;
‘ and, as professor Bergman strongly suspects,
‘ enters into the composition of all siliceous
‘ bodies.

‘ The acid of *molybdena* the professor con-
‘ jectures to be of metallick origin; and he
‘ thinks there is reason to believe, that each
‘ metal has its peculiar acid, although, as yet,
‘ from the stronger union of the acid with the
‘ phlogiston, it has not been developed, ex-
‘ cept in arsenick, where the cohesion is less
‘ firm.

‘ To the number of alkaline salts there is
‘ no addition. The neutral are divided into
‘ perfect and imperfect: the latter, being
‘ those in which one of the component prin-
‘ ciples exists, either in a smaller quantity, or
‘ is weaker in its power than is fully requi-
‘ site. The more perfect neutral salts, form-
‘ ed by the union of the three alkalies, with
‘ the three primitive mineral acids, are well
‘ known. The imperfect are, tincal or bo-
‘ rax, being the mineral alkali partially im-
‘ pregnated with a peculiar acid; the vegeta-
‘ ble

* It has been since discovered and acknowledged by the author, that although the fluor acid dissolves siliceous earths whenever it meets with them; yet, that it does not, as he imagined in this place, when in a state of vapour, actually form siliceous earth with water.

ble alkali united with the aërial acid, which he observes, is seldom found native, except in the neighbourhood of great woods destroyed by fire; the *alkali minerale aëratum*, or natron; and the alkali volatile aëratum; for an account of which see Phil. Trans. Vol. LVII.

Among the earthy salts he has introduced that from which the first of his primitive earths is produced. He calls it *terra ponderosa vitriolata*. Among the salts the professor has also brought the gypsum, or selénites, under the name of *calx vitriolata*; the *calx nitrata*, or terrene nitre, found sparingly in waters. He relates, upon this article, that there are said to be chalk-hills in France spontaneously impregnated with the nitrous acid; the *calx salita*, or fixed ammoniacal salt; the *calx aërata*, or marble, lime-stone, &c. of waters; the *magnesia vitriolata*, or Epsom salt; the *magnesia nitrata aërata*; and finally, the alum, or *argilla vitriolata*.

The metallick salts are, the *cuprum vitriolatum*, or blue vitriol; *ferrum vitriolatum*, or green vitriol; *ferrum aëratum*, or iron dissolved by the aerial acid in mineral waters; *Nickolum vitriolatum*, or vitriol of nickel; *zincum vitriolatum*, or white vitriol; and the *manganesium* salitum*, or manganese united to the muriatick acid, which has

* In the original it is magnesium; but Mr. Withering informs us, that it is now changed, by the concurrence of professor Bergman, to *manganesium*, in order to prevent confusion from its similarity to magnesia.

‘ has been found dissolved in some waters by
‘ Mr. Hielm.

‘ The professor closes this class by enumerating some species of salts, which are composed of three or more principles, so strictly combined as not to separate in chrySTALLIZING. These *sales triplices* are the salt of the ocean mixed with magnesia; Epsom salt, with martial vitriol; native alum, impregnated with martial vitriol, and with vitriol of cobalt; blue vitriol with iron; green vitriol with nickel; and blue vitriol, with iron and zinc.

‘ Throughout this class are concisely pointed out the several *matrices* and natural modes of existence of all these subjects; as well as the method of procuring the pure artificial ones, and of detecting them when in solution; the earthy salts being precipitated by mild, and the metallick by phlogisticated alkalies.

‘ In all the classes professor Bergman, after the manner of Linnæus, Wallerius, and Cronstedt, has endeavoured to give names to all the subjects expressive of the internal characters or principles of each.

‘ CLASS II. EARTHS.

‘ Of these he allows only five distinct kinds, or such as are termed primitive earths, being incapable, by any art yet known, of further decomposition.

‘ These are, 1. *terra ponderosa*, or heavy earth; 2. Calx, or calcareous earth; 3. Magnesia; 4. *Argilla*, or argillaceous earth; and 5. *Terra silicea*, or siliceous earth.

‘ Cronstedt

‘ Cronstedt had stated nine primitive earths ;
 ‘ of which Bergman has reduced the garnet
 ‘ kind, micaceous, and the zeolitic, to his ar-
 ‘ gillaceous genus, having discovered them
 ‘ to be compounded principally of that earth,
 ‘ with various proportions of some other of
 ‘ his primitive earths. He has since also
 ‘ found the asbestine earth of Cronstedt to be
 ‘ a compounded earth ; and as to the manga-
 ‘ nese, it stands no longer in this class, but
 ‘ occupies the last place among the ignoble
 ‘ metals.

‘ 1. The *terra ponderosa*, which the author
 ‘ first detected in 1774, is procured in its
 ‘ present state from the ponderous spar, or
 ‘ *marmor metallicum* ; which, with the *lapis*
 ‘ *hepaticus*, (Cronf. §. 24), appears hitherto
 ‘ to be the only substance in which it has
 ‘ been found ; though he scarcely doubts but
 ‘ that it will be discovered in many others. 2.
 ‘ *Calx*. The most pure is yielded by chalk.
 ‘ Under this genus are ranged, first, the
 ‘ limestones of Cronf. §. 5—12. called here
 ‘ *calx aërata* ; the *lapis fuillus*, which is lime-
 ‘ stone impregnated with *petroleum* ; *fluor*
 ‘ *mineralis*, or sparry fluor of Cronf. §. 87—
 ‘ 101 ; marle, which he calls *calx aerata tam*
 ‘ *argillaceo quam siliceo inquinata* ; and sever-
 ‘ ral others. 3. *Magnesia*, procured from
 ‘ Epsom salt. Professor Bergman enumerates
 ‘ five species ; among which are the soap-
 ‘ rocks, Cronf. 79—83, which he denomi-
 ‘ nates *magnesia siliceo intime adunata*. All
 ‘ these, except the pure magnesia of waters,
 ‘ are much contaminated by iron. 4. *Argilla*.
 ‘ The

' The pure elementary earth of this kind is
 ' best obtained from alum. Under this genus
 ' are enumerated ten species, as having
 ' the argillaceous earth for the principal
 ' basis: the porcelain clay; bole; marle;
 ' *terra lemnia*; white alum ore; alum
 ' slate; the gems, such as the ruby, sap-
 ' phire, topaz, emerald; the granites, basal-
 ' tes or scherle; zeolite; and the talky and
 ' micaceous bodies. The diamond is not
 ' ranged under this head. The tourmalin
 ' holds a middle place between the genus and
 ' the scherles. 5. *Terra silicea*, procured in
 ' its purest state from rock chrystal. This
 ' earth is insoluble in all the acids, except
 ' the fluor acid. The professor seems to sus-
 ' pect, that it is, nevertheless, not a pure
 ' primitive or elementary earth. Under this
 ' genus rank all the quartz tribe; chalcedo-
 ' ny; probably also the opal; jaspers; *pe-*
 ' *trofalex*, or chert; feldt spat; and the yel-
 ' lowish green cloudy topaz, or *chrysoprasius*.
 ' Whether the cornelian, and the remaining
 ' part of the flinty stones, belong to this ge-
 ' nus, he is yet not able to determine.

' CLASS III. BITUMENS;

' Or inflammable bodies; which the author
 ' divides only into two genera, under the
 ' names of sulphur and petroleum. Among
 ' the first rank common brimstone; plum-
 ' bago; black-lead or molybdena, a sulphur
 ' united to a peculiar acid.

' Under the genera of petroleum he classes
 ' the naphtha and rock oils, coal, and am-
 ' ber. Professor Bergman adopts the opinion
 ' of

of M. Aublet, concerning the vegetable origin of ambergrease*. But it is very lately rendered more probable, that it is an animal production, being the scybala of the whale. This opinion is ingeniously supported by reason and analogy, as well as by some facts, in a paper written by Dr. Schwedjower, in the last volume of the Philosophical Transactions†.

Many mineralogists will be surprized to see the diamond in the bituminous class; yet professor Bergman confesses that he could not find a more proper station for it; and he justifies himself on the following considerations: it remains untouched by all the acids; it is evaporable in the open fire, appearing to dissipate in a cloud, or lambent flame; and in the focus of the speculum it leaves slight traces of sooty remains. This deflagration, howsoever slow and gentle, he apprehends, reduces it to a place among inflammable bodies.

CLASS IV. METALS.

In the introductory section of this class, the professor asserts the great affinity that subsists between bituminous bodies and metals by observing, that both zinc and arsenick flame when properly heated in the fire.

He divides metals into noble and ignoble; and

* See Histoire des Plantes de la Guiane Françoise, Vol. II, Sup p. 39. Couma Tab. 392.

† Vol. II. p. 226—241.

and treats of them in the order of their specifick gravities.

Of gold he enumerates four species, found in a native state; and, though he mentions a *pyrites aureus* (Cronf. §. 166. a), has nevertheless some doubts, as to the reality of the mineralization of gold. Platina*, he says, is always debased with a martial admixture. Of silver he gives seven species as native, and eleven mineralized. He attributes to Mr. Woulfe the merit of observing the vitriolick principle in horn silver; and gives him equal praise for his discovery, that mercury is mineralized by the muriatick and vitriolick acids. Under lead, the professor mentions a species found by M. Mounet, which is mineralized by means of the vitriolick acid; and another, detected by Dr. Gahn, which is reduced to ore by the phosphorick acid.

He has exhibited, under the article of copper, a species sent to him by Mr. Werner, which he found to be mineralized with argillaceous earth and muriatick acid. Only nine species of iron† are enumerated in this work; one of which, he says, contains a new metal. This has since been further investigated

* Count Sickingen has lately discovered a means of purifying platina, by which that metal, before supposed to be to water as 18 to 1, is now proved to be as 21 to 1. Gold is only as 19.64 to 1. See *Versuche ueber die Platina*. Mannheim.

† In 1782, was published by Sweno Rinman, director of the iron manufactories; a most able treatise, "*Foerboek till järnets historia*," or Essay on the History of Iron, the result of forty years observations. A translation of this work could not fail of being highly useful to the English naturalist and manufacturer.

‘vestigated, exalted in fact to the rank
‘of a metal, and most aptly named *siderum*.
‘The mispickel of authors is removed from
‘the arsenick ores to the iron, and des-
‘cribed under the name of *ferrum nativum*
‘*arsenico adunatum*. He tells us, that he
‘never saw native tin; and doubts its exist-
‘ence. Two new species from Siberia are
‘mentioned in the preface, under the name
‘of *stannum sulphuratum*.

‘Bismuth and nickel stand nearly as they
‘do in Cronstedt, except that Bergman does
‘not notice the nickel of Cronstedt, which is
‘said to be mineralized by the vitriolick acid.
‘The species of arsenick and cobalt remain
‘nearly the same in professor Bergman’s ar-
‘rangement, as in that of Cronstedt. The
‘professor seems to think that the analysis of
‘arsenick leads further into the true nature
‘of metallick substances than that of any
‘other metal; since, from arsenick, not on-
‘ly the redundant quantity of phlogiston is
‘capable of being extricated, so as to leave
‘it in a calciform state, as in other metals,
‘but, by further management, it can also be
‘deprived of the remaining portion, and its
‘peculiar acid thus developed. If art should
‘ever be able to destroy in other metals, as in
‘this, that strong cohesion which subsists be-
‘tween the phlogiston and the acid, it must,
‘as he observes, very greatly improve our
‘knowledge of mineral substances. In treat-
‘ing of zinc, he introduces a curious kind,
‘communicated by M. Born, which he calls
‘*zincum aeratum siliceo mixtum*. Of antimony
‘only

only three species are enumerated. *Manganese*, or manganese, which, in the works of Cronstedt and Wallerius, is placed among the earths, having been reduced to a reguline state, is now, for the first time, brought into the metallick class, and occupies the last place. The author makes two species a calciform, and another which is mineralized by the aerial acid.

The *manganese*, and the new metal since called *siderum*, are not the only new metals mentioned in this sketch. He gives us, in the 32d section, several reasons which induced to think that the acid of Molybdena was of metallick origin; and relates, that in consequence of his directions, M. Hielm has obtained a regulus from that substance; though, at the publication of this work, it had not been sufficiently examined.

It is even suspected by the author, that his *terra ponderosa* is in reality a new metal: for there is great similarity between this earth and the calx of lead, and he has lately discovered a method of precipitating it by means of the phlogisticated alkali. Nevertheless, not having hitherto been able to reduce it to a reguline state, it must remain among the earths.

Although in systems of mineralogy founded entirely on chymical characters, stones, and petrefactions, have no place in the body of the system, yet professor Bergman does not mean to exclude a due attention to them; the knowledge of the former being
of

‘ of the utmost importance in the arts of life;
‘ and that of petrefactions leading, perhaps,
‘ finally to explain more intimately, not only
‘ the nature of the containing substances, but
‘ the internal constitution of the globe.
‘ Hence he has, in the manner of Wallerius
‘ and Cronstedt, put them at the end of this
‘ work, and very briefly suggested a method
‘ of arranging them, founded on the classi-
‘ cal characters of his own system.

‘ It should seem that professor Bergman has
‘ not introduced into this sketch any articles
‘ of the fossil kingdom, which chymistry has
‘ not sufficiently ascertained; and to his own
‘ labours many very important discoveries and
‘ alterations are owing: yet, from this slight
‘ view of this work, it is immediately dis-
‘ cerned, that the completion of a system
‘ must be wanting, till the labour and atten-
‘ tion of chymists have found the true place
‘ of a great number of substances hitherto
‘ not sufficiently analyzed. In the mean
‘ time, till that perfection is attained, it
‘ would be highly desirable to see, from
‘ the pen of so skilful a master, the whole
‘ mineral kingdom, as far as is possible, ar-
‘ ranged agreeably to the plan here laid
‘ down; since the sagacity and penetrating
‘ eye of so able a chymist would qualify him
‘ to assign, with great probability, the true
‘ place of many substances which chymical
‘ analysis might not have absolutely fixed:
‘ and we are glad to announce, that the au-
‘ thor intends hereafter to publish this
‘ work

C. IX. DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY. 271

‘work on an enlarged and more perfect plan*.’

C H A P. IX.

*General description of the country.—Westeros.
—Tomb of Eric XIV.—His imprisonment
and death.—Account of his family.—Sin-
gular adventures of his eldest son Gustavus.
—Kungsoer.—Arboga.—Orebro.—Marie-
stadt.—Lindkioping.—Trolhætta.—River
Gotha.—Attempts to join the Gulf of
Bothnia and the German Ocean by an inland
navigation across Sweden.—Fruitless endea-
vours to render the cataracts of Trolhætta
navigable.—Description of the works.*

THE provinces of Upland, Westmanland, and Nerike, which I traversed in my way to Gotheborg, are esteemed the richest and finest parts of Sweden; and indeed I can hardly figure to myself a more variegated or pleasing scenery than is exhibited by the general face of the country. Hills and dales, rocks and vallies, small plains, numerous lakes, forests, meadows and arable land, frequent towns and villages, and scattered farm-houses, are blended together with a constant and delightful variety. Thus Sweden, which some travellers, forming their
judg-

* Paucis interjectis annis, si Deus vitam viresque largitur, et locupletius et accuratius hoc rudimentum produrum spero.

judgment merely from the few districts that fell under their immediate observation, have described as a mass of barren and ungenial soil, is evidently not deficient in the most picturesque beauties of rural nature. But I hasten from general to particular description.

March 6. From Upsala I passed a tract of country, more open and fertile than I had hitherto observed in Sweden, to Endkiöping, a small town, situated upon a river close to an inlet of the lake Mæler, and consisting chiefly of wooden houses painted for the most part red. It stands upon a ridge of ground composed of sand and gravel, which once formed the shore of the lake. Beyond it is a small plain, formerly covered with water, in which I observed many scattered fragments of granite.

The two next posts brought me, at the end of 24 miles, to Westeros, situated likewise upon a small river close to the Mæler.

Westeros, or Western Arosia, so called to distinguish it from Östra Aros, or Eastern Arosia, the antient name of Upsala, is esteemed by the native writers, a place of very high antiquity. They derive its appellation by a fanciful etymology from the river Ar, and Os, a mouth; and suppose it to be alluded to by Tacitus*, and by Jornandes the Gothick historian. But without dwelling upon such etymological inquiries, which are apt to rest upon slender
foun-

* Dahlin, Vol. I. p. 193.

foundations, we may observe, that the name occurs in the earliest times of Swedish history. Westeros carries on a considerable commerce with Stockholm across the lake Mæler; particularly in copper and iron from the neighbouring mines, which abound in the province of Westmanland.

It is a large straggling town, composed of wooden houses, and contains the ruins of an antient palace, formerly inhabited by the kings of Sweden. It is a bishop's see; and the cathedral, which is built with brick, is celebrated for the tower, esteemed the highest in the kingdom: the lower part of this tower is square, and supports a hexagon spire tapering gradually like a pyramid, and covered with painted metal.

Within the cathedral is the tomb of Eric XIV. whom I have before had occasion to mention, and whose final catastrophe I shall now relate. We may pity the unfortunate monarch who was subject to such dreadful fits of insanity as may account, in some degree, for his actions; yet we cannot, at the same time, but confess, that he was unworthy to reign. The prelude to his deposition was the release of his brother John * from the castle of Gripsholm, where he had been confined by Eric during the space of four years. His dethronement, which he had merited by the most flagrant enormities, was

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hastened

* John had been justly imprisoned for marrying the daughter of Sigismund king of Poland in opposition to Eric: and for maintaining a secret correspondence with Sigismund had been condemned to death by the states, but was pardoned by the king.

hastened by his imprudence in publicly espousing Catharine, a woman of the lowest extraction, who had formerly been his mistress; and by what he considered as the most fortunate circumstance of his life, the birth of a son, whom he had compelled his brothers to acknowledge as the heir apparent to the throne. This event excluding his brothers, John and Charles, from all hopes of the succession, disposed them to avail themselves of the general discontents, which the capricious conduct of Eric, his mistrust of the principal nobility, and his unlimited confidence in persons of the meanest extraction, excited through the kingdom. Accordingly, on the 10th of July, 1568, they raised the standard of revolt at Wadstena, and their party rapidly acquired such numbers, that Eric, being besieged in Stockholm, was soon compelled to capitulate, and to make a public abdication of his crown in favour of John. The deposed monarch was immediately imprisoned in the castle of Stockholm, where he endured every species of persecution and indignity. To use his own pathetick words, which best express his sufferings, “ God knows how cruelly and unworthily I “ have been used these 22 weeks last past. “ Not a day goes over my head without leaving behind it some affliction. We have “ been (beside the provocations given us from “ the reproaches of slanderous men), exceedingly “ tormented with hunger, cold, stench, “ and darkness; and, what is more affecting “ than all the rest, my enemies have more “ than

“ than once attacked us with swords and
 “ poiniards. Sometimes we have been depriv-
 “ ved of the common refreshments of rest
 “ and sleep, because of tumults and noise
 “ in the night-season *.” Once, in particular, being roused to resistance by the insults of one of his brutal keepers, the latter shattered his arm with a musket, and left him for several hours weltering in his blood without any assistance.

We are naturally anxious to know in what manner a sovereign, long used to the pomp and pageantry of a court, could amuse himself in a prison, deprived not only of all the comforts, but even the necessaries of life; and history has, in this instance, gratified our curiosity.

During the first part of his confinement he employed himself in writing an apology for his own conduct, as well with respect to his brother John, as in relation to the catastrophe of the Stures. Several of the papers which he sketched upon this occasion still exist. They are drawn up in the form of syllogisms †, with the minutest attention to the

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rules

* Account of Livonia, p. 114.

† A specimen of these syllogisms may, perhaps, not be unacceptable to the reader.

“ He who assists my enemy, declares himself my enemy;
 “ John assisted my enemies with money; ergo, he declares
 “ himself my enemy. He who favours the enemies of a
 “ kingdom, is an enemy of that kingdom; Nicholas Swantesson favoured the enemies of the kingdom; Therefore
 “ he is an enemy of this kingdom. John is my subject, as
 “ well according to all the laws, as from his oath of allegiance;
 “ therefore he cannot judge me who am his king, because
 “ I enjoy the Swedish law.” Hist. de Eric XIV. p. 210.

rules of logick ; an extraordinary mode of consolation to a deposed sovereign.

In the beginning of 1569 Eric was summoned before the states assembled at Stockholm, and, like Charles I. of England, brought to a trial before his subjects. His two brothers being present, the articles of accusation were read, when Eric, whose capacity, naturally good, was quickened by his misfortunes, answered the several charges, with a warmth of eloquence and subtlety of argument, which astonished his accusers. In the heat of dispute, John reproached him with his insanity: " I never was insane but once," the deposed monarch instantly replied, " and that was when I released you from prison."

At the conclusion of this trial, he was declared to have forfeited the crown by his misconduct and tyranny ; and, being re-conducted to prison, underwent an additional load of calamities. He not only wanted occasionally common necessaries, but, what afflicted him more strongly, he was deprived even of his books, which had hitherto afforded him some amusement, and of the society of his wife and children. In vain he wrote repeated letters to his brother, requesting some alleviation of his distress ; but not the slightest notice was paid to these applications. However tyrannical we may esteem his conduct while he sat upon the throne, yet such unnatural cruelties, so wantonly inflicted without the least necessity, reflect the utmost disgrace upon the memory of his brother ; and we almost lose our abhorrence of Eric's former actions in our
sense

sense of his calamitous situation. The people, at length sympathizing with the distress of their deposed sovereign, began to condemn the extreme rigour of his treatment, and a strong party even meditated a revolt. Upon its discovery and suppression, he was transferred to Abo in Finland, where he underwent a still severer confinement. In 1570 he was imprisoned at Castleholm, in the isle of Aland, in a dungeon, which I have described in a former chapter; and in the autumn of the same year was removed to the castle of Gripsholm. Here his sorrows were for a while alleviated by the presence of his beloved Catharine: but he was again deprived of this comfort in 1573, upon being transferred to Westeros. In a letter to her, he complains bitterly of this separation, and assures her of his unalterable attachment. He laments the miseries of his own imprisonment; acquaints her that he had been confined in a dark dungeon for seven months, and was but just removed to a more comfortable apartment. "God forbid," he adds, "wherever you are, that you and your children should experience any similar severity: forget not your beloved Eric, and break not the marriage vow, to which I have always adhered with such inviolable constancy." From Westeros he was sent the following year to Orebyhus, near Wendel, in the province of Upland, where he terminated his miserable existence. These frequent changes in the places of his imprisonment, were occasioned by the apprehensions of John, who perceived that

that the nation began to compassionate his brother's wretched situation, and that many attempts had been actually made to restore him to liberty. In consequence of these alarms, John, in 1569, secretly laid before the senate the necessity of hastening Eric's death; but though he found no difficulty in obtaining their consent to that infamous proposal, yet he deferred the execution. At length, as Eric had once nearly escaped from prison, as the number of his partizans increased, he resolved to inflict the sentence of death which had been agreed to by the senate. Accordingly, in the beginning of the year 1577, he dispatched his secretary to Oreby with a dose of poison, and with directions in what manner to proceed. If Eric should obstinately refuse to swallow the draught, the keeper was ordered to open his veins, or to strangle him under a matrafs. There was, however, no occasion for proceeding to force. The wretched sufferer received the news of his approaching fate without the least emotion, and prepared for it with the utmost resignation. On the 22d of February, he partook of the sacrament with the most fervent devotion; and on the 26th at noon, having swallowed the poison in a plate of soup, expired, in the ninth year of his imprisonment, and in the 45th of his age*. His body was transported to Westeros, and interred in the cathedral, where the bishop

* The circumstances of Eric's deposition and imprisonment are principally selected from the *Histoire d'Eric XIV.* by Celsius, Lib. XI and XII.; and Dahlin's *Geschichte Von Sweden*, Vol. III. p. 538 to p. 551.; and Vol. IV. p. 66 to 68.

shop of that see preached a funeral sermon from this remarkable text, "The kingdom is turned about and become my brother's; for it was his from the Lord." His tomb is a raised monument of plain stone: upon the walls of the chapel in which it stands are his arms; the three crowns as king of Sweden, the lion as duke of Finland, and the wheat-sheaf the device of the Vasa family. The whole inscription is E. R. or *Eric Rex*, in large characters, with a crown painted over each letter; and underneath the Latin text of the funeral sermon preached at his interment, *Translatum est regnum, &c.*

Eric, during the first part of his confinement, kept a journal of the occurrences which happened to him in prison; from which it appears, that his wife was the constant subject of his thoughts. During her absence, writing to her was his almost daily occupation; and his letters breathe the most affectionate and warmest attachment. He soothed many hours of his imprisonment by music, in which he excelled both as a performer and composer. His books, when he was indulged in the use of them, afforded him a pleasing resource, and he filled the margins with numerous remarks. He translated, into his native tongue, the history of the Swedish kings, from the original of John Magnus; to which he added some Latin verses upon the character of each sovereign. He composed two penitential psalms, which are inserted in the Swedish Psalter. His memorial upon the causes of the war between

tween himself and Frederick king of Denmark; his astronomical, or rather astrological observations; his treatise upon the art of war; all written in the Latin language, prove his capacity and erudition.

Catharine, his wife, survived him. She was the daughter of a peasant; and, while an infant, being observed by Eric, he was so struck with her beauty, that he paid great attention to her education, and placed her in the court of his sister Elizabeth. When she arrived at years of maturity she became his mistress, and acquired, in a short space of time, an extraordinary ascendancy over his capricious disposition; an ascendancy derived from the graces of her person and the endowments of her mind; but, according to the prevailing notions of the age, imputed to philters and love potions. His attachment increasing, instead of diminishing, by possession, Eric (frustrated in his hopes of marrying several foreign princesses) at length espoused her after she had borne to him a natural son. During his confinement Catharine gratefully returned his affection with equal esteem and tenderness; and afforded to her unfortunate lord much consolation in his misery. She survived her husband many years; and such was her prudent deportment, that she conciliated the favour of John and Sigismund, from whom she obtained a considerable revenue; and was permitted to pass the remainder of her life in Finland in perfect tranquillity.

Eric

Eric left two natural daughters by Agda, daughter of a rich merchant of Stockholm, Virginia and Constantia, both married in Sweden; and by Catharine four children, of whom only Gustavus and Sigrida survived their father: Sigrida espoused count Tott, and her descendants still survive in that illustrious branch.

Gustavus, born in 1568, and declared successor to the Swedish crown, was, upon his father's deposition, imprisoned at Stockholm; and, when Eric was removed to Abo, was inclosed in a sack, and delivered to an officer belonging to the court, who had orders to put him to death, and to bury him at the extremity of the town. As the officer was proceeding, before day-break, to carry his barbarous command into execution, he was observed by a Swedish nobleman, who opened the sack, and discovering the infant, rescued him from immediate destruction. Gustavus, thus preserved, was conveyed from Sweden by the friends of Eric. He received a wandering education*, in the Jesuits convent of Braunsberg, at Thorn in Polish Prussia, and at Vilna, the capital of Lithuania. In these different seminaries he made a considerable progress in literature; and, in particular, distinguished himself so much by his proficiency in chemistry, that he was called the second Paracelsus†. He was no less remarkable for his knowledge of languages, speaking with fluency, beside his
native

* Mess. Scand. Illus. Lib. VII. p. 10. Dahlin IV. p. 158.

† Dahlin IV. p. 157.

native tongue, French, Italian, German, Polish, Russian, and Latin. He was indeed so zealous in the prosecution of his studies, that, on account of his indigent circumstances, after attending the schools by day, he used in the evening to ply at the inns in the lowest capacity, in order to procure a scanty subsistence. His literary acquisitions, however, did not advance his fortune; for he passed a wandering life in the greatest misery; and was reduced to such straits, that he frequently had recourse to charity; and, at other times, earned his livelihood by the meanest occupations*.

His distress was so great, that he even ventured to implore the assistance of his cousin Sigismund, king of Poland and Sweden, who persuaded him to enter into the church, and conferred on him an abbey, from the revenues whereof he subsisted for some time at Thorn. Induced, however, to quit Poland from a suspicion of Sigismund, he accepted the pressing invitations of the czar Boris Godunof, who offered his daughter Irene in marriage, and his assistance to ascend the throne of Sweden. Gustavus, allured by these promises, repaired in 1599 to Moscow, where he was received with those honours, which,

* Messenius says, Tom. VII. p. 10 " Et quamvis ob nimiam pusillanimitatem, nec sceptro, nec pedit esset idoneus tamen mediocres in litteris fecit progressus, libris annis aliquot indefessus in tanta rerum omnium penuria adhærens, ut interdiu scholas frequentaret, noctu autem in publicis Turoniæ Vilnæque diversoriis, suam hospitibus operam in mundandis ocreis, phaleris, et curandis equis, locando tenuem victum amicumque sibi compararet."

which, according to the Russian ceremonial, were only paid to sovereign princes. But the tzar soon withdrew his friendship, broke off the intended alliance, and, in 1601, removed Gustavus to Uglitz. It is uncertain whether this change in the tzar's sentiments was occasioned by the refusal of the Swedish prince to embrace the Greek religion; by his unwillingness to enter into hostilities against Sweden, and to dismember Esthonia and Finland in favour of Russia; whether because he appeared a prince of no spirit, and too pusillanimous † to prosecute any enterprize with vigour; or because the contract of marriage between John prince of Denmark and the princess Irene, made his removal from Moscow necessary. He resided at Uglitz * until the accession

† Messenius, when praising his piety and charitable disposition, adds, "*Tantaque fuerit plenus commiseratione, ut ne passeris quidem, multo minus hominis, intueri potuerit inter necionem. Hincque plus æquo fuerit pusillanimis, quæ submissio mentis, non raro illius posuit fortunæ obstaculum.*" Sccond. Illust. Tom. VIII. p. 100.

* The Swedish historians assert, that Gustavus was so attached to his native country, that no motives could induce him to enter into hostilities against it, and that this was the sole cause of his removal. The Russians, on the contrary, affirm, that Boris, finding him a prince without spirit and vigour, readily accepted the offer of the prince of Denmark to marry Irene; and therefore sent Gustavus to Uglitz. The Russian and Swedish historians differ also about his situation. The former say, that Uglitz was granted to him as a fief, and that he resided there in great state: the latter, that he was treated as a prisoner. Perhaps both are in the right. He might reside in state, and yet be watched as a kind of state prisoner. As a confirmation of this account of the case, Margaret, who was at Moscow at the time, says "that he was sent in disgrace to Uglitz; but had a revenue assigned to him of £800 per annum." *Etat de la Russ.* p. 96. For the history of this Gustavus, see Dahlin, Vol. IV. passim. Mess. Sccond.

accession of Demetrius, who imprisoned him at Yaroslaf for favouring Charles XI. king of Sweden. He was again released by Vassili Shuiski, upon the assassination of Demetrius, in May 1606, and permitted to reside at Kaskin, where he expired in the following year; but whether by poison, or by a natural death, is not ascertained.

March 7. Between Westeros and Arboga I changed horses at the small village of Kungfær, where, being tempted by the beauty of the situation, I roved about the environs, and upon the banks of the Mæler. This lake is extremely beautiful; it contains several islands rich in wood and pasture; its shores are hilly, feathered with trees, and diversified with gentlemen's seats and farm houses. The lake, at least that part which I saw, was still covered with ice, but no longer capable of bearing carriages. It is usually frozen over during a few weeks in winter; and opens an easy communication, by means of sledges, between these parts and Stockholm.

Kungfær stands upon the mouth of the small river Ulvison, which flows into the western extremity of the Mæler: this stream, which comes from Arboga, helps to form the communication between the lakes Mæler and Hielmar, by its junction with the canal of Arboga.

Near Kungfær there is an old wooden building, or kind of palace, formerly inhabited by the kings of Sweden, with a manage and
stables

stables for the royal stud. From Kungfær stretches, about nine miles, almost as far as Arboga, a long narrow plain of rich pasture, which belongs to the king: it is watered by the Ulvison, and skirted with gently rising hills tufted with wood; produces great quantities of fine hay; and feeds a large number of cattle. I passed, in sight of this small plain, which is scarcely more than half a mile in breadth, through an undulating country, and arrived at the canal of Arboga, which I crossed over a draw-bridge. The following inscription informed me that the canal was begun by Charles XI. and finished under the reign of his son Charles XII.

“Hoc aquarum repagulum jussu Augustissimi quondam Suecorum Regis Caroli XI. nunc in cœlis beati anno MDCXCI. inchoatum, ultimam manum sceptrâ gerente Suevica Augustissimo Carolo XII. feliciter recepit MDCIC.” This canal will be more properly described in this chapter on the inland navigation of Sweden.

Finding little worthy of notice in Arboga, I hastened to Orebro, the capital of Nerike, where I passed the night: it stands near the western extremity of the lake Hielmar; and is the largest town which I visited since I quitted Stockholm. The houses are chiefly constructed with wood; and, though only of one story, are for the most part large and commodious. Upon a small island in the middle of the town, formed by two branches of the Swart, stands the castle, formerly a royal residence: it is an old square building of brick
and

and stone white washed, and is appropriated to the governor of the province. The inhabitants of Orebro send iron, vitriol, and red paint to Stockholm; and the trade which they carry on with that capital across the Hielmar and Mæler, by means of the canal of Arboga, is very considerable. The town possesses manufactures of fire arms, cloth, and tapestry.

Upon quitting Orebro, I traversed that part of the province of Nerike, which lies between the lakes Hielmar and Wenner; a fertile district, abounding in corn, pasture, and forest. Towards the close of the day, I entered the province of West Gothland, and passed the night in a peasant's cottage at Hofva, a small place, not far distant from the lake Skager.

March 9. About noon I arrived at Mariestadt, a town built by Charles IX. situated upon the Tidla, a small rivulet, and the lake Wenner. A new prison of brick, stuccoed white, makes a finer appearance than any of the other houses, which are mostly built with wood, and painted of a red colour. From Mariestadt I continued my route, for some time, at a small distance from the Wenner, the largest lake in Sweden, being nearly ninety miles in length, and forty in breadth. Its shores in this part are low and level, so that the view over the surface of the water appears boundless like a sea.

I passed through Lindkioping, the inhabitants whereof carry on a considerable inland trade across the Wenner, and down the river Gotha to Gotheborg. I stopped the night at the small village of Malby, and arrived the
next

next morning at Trolhætta, through an exceedingly dreary country, consisting chiefly of barren heaths, with ridges of rock almost naked, which exhibited few marks of vegetation.

This village, containing scarcely a dozen houses, is situated close to the cataracts of the river Gotha; and is well known, on account of its stupendous works, with a view to open a passage for vessels, by means of a navigable cut, called, from this place, the canal of Trolhætta.

This canal forms part of a plan, long projected by the Swedes, to unite the Baltick and the German Ocean by an inland navigation, as well for the purpose of improving the interior trade of the provinces, as of preventing the interruption of their foreign commerce, which is always the consequence of a war with Denmark. For as all vessels sailing out of the Baltick must necessarily pass through the Sound, they are exposed to the Danish privateers, who shelter themselves under the batteries of Elsinoor, which command the passage of that strait, unless a Swedish fleet should ride mistress of the Gulf.

Gustavus Vasa was the first sovereign who saw the utility of such an inland navigation, when he made Lodeſe (now Gotheborg) a staple town of trade, that the merchant ships coming to Sweden might not be obliged to sail through the Sound; and he conceived hopes, that, in some future period, the merchandize might be transported from thence to Stockholm, by means of the Wenner, Hielmar, and Mæler, when the rivers and lakes
uniting

uniting with them should be rendered navigable *.

Eric XIV. desirous to carry his father's designs into execution, gave orders for surveying the waters communicating with these lakes, and directed plans to be formed for joining them by artificial canals †. But the execution of his great schemes was frustrated by the turbulence and misfortunes of his reign.

Several succeeding sovereigns had this great object in view. Charles IX. promoted it by the Carlsgraf canal; and Charles XI. by that of Arboga. The undertaking, however, of forming a water communication across the whole country, was always considered as a work of extreme difficulty. Motraye says, that Gustavus Adolphus was inclined to encourage the design, but no person could be found in Sweden bold enough to engage in the enterprize: he adds, that Charles XI. sent for some Dutch engineers, who, after they had measured the fall of the waters between the Wenner and the Hielmar, declared it to be impracticable. Difficulties, however, insurmountable as they might appear to persons of more sober understanding, were no barrier to the genius of Charles XII. The same author informs us, that the celebrated engineer, Polheim, laid before that king a proposal for rendering the cataracts of Trolhætta navigable; and for opening a communication, not only between Gotheborg and Stockholm, but also with the Wenner, the Vetter, and Nordkioping, sufficient for the passage of
very

* Dahlin, Vol. III. p. 115.

† Hist. d'Eric XIV.

very large vessels *. Polheim's plan was immediately approved, and begun by Charles, fond of extraordinary projects; and, though interrupted for some time by the king's death, was again revived with fresh vigour under the late sovereign Adolphus Frederick.

This plan may be divided into three principal parts. 1. The junction of the Mæler and the Hielmar. 2. Of the Hielmar with the Wenner. 3. Of the Wenner with the German Ocean.

1. Of the junction of the Mæler with the Hielmar. These two lakes are united by the small river Ulvison, and the canal of Arboga. The former rises to the west of Arboga, flows through the town, and falls into the Mæler at Kungfær. The canal of Arboga is cut from the Hielmar, and continued to the Ulvison about half a mile to the east of the town. It was begun in the reign of Christina; but being only calculated for small vessels, was widened and deepened by order of Charles XI. and completed under his successor Charles XII. It belonged to the crown until 1769; at which period it had been so much neglected as to be scarcely of any use; but a company of seven merchants of Orebro undertook to cleanse and repair it at their own expence, upon condition of receiving the toll of all vessels which should pass through it.

The canal is, excepting in a few parts, sufficiently broad to receive two barks a-breast :

VOL. III.

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its

* Voyages de Motraye, vol. II. p. 282. 306.

its lowest depth is 8 feet *. It is chiefly supplied with water from the lake Hielmar, the surface of which is 80 feet perpendicular higher than its level. It consists of eight sluices. The vessels it admits are the same which navigate the lakes; they are decked and single masted; 76 feet long; about 43 tons burden; and draw between six and seven feet of water.

2. In order to join the Hielmar and Wenner, it was proposed to open the navigation of the Swart-an, which falls into the western extremity of the Hielmar at Orebro; to make a cut from that river to the lake Morken; from thence by the Let-an to the Skager; and from the Skager by the Gullspang to the Wenner. Not having myself been in those parts, I could only obtain the most authentick intelligence from persons who have inspected them: from their accounts I have reason to conclude, that the above-mentioned rivers are for the most part so shallow and stony, that it would be extremely difficult and expensive to render them navigable; and as the faint attempts hitherto made upon the Gullspang have all failed of success, it has been proposed to cut a canal directly from the lake Morken to Christianham, which is situated upon the eastern shore of the Wenner. But as no part of this project had been as yet taken in hand, and the whole would be attended with great difficulties; there is little prospect that
this

* The foot used in this chapter is the Swedish, which differs but little from the English. The proportion of the English being to that of the Swedish as 1000 to 1027.

this branch of the great undertaking, the junction of the Hielmar and Wenner, will ever be completed *.

3. The junction of the Wenner with the German Ocean comes next into consideration: and this might be accomplished by the river Gotha, which issues from the southern extremity of the lake near Wennerborg, and, after a course of seventy miles, falls into the sea near Gotheborg; provided that river could be made navigable throughout its whole course. But as, on account of shoals and cataracts, its stream is greatly impeded, the communication has been attempted by the Carlsgraf canal, the canal of Trolhætta, and the sluices of Akerstrøm and Edit, which, therefore, I shall separately describe.

The channel of the river Gotha not being open and free upon its first issuing from the Wenner, a cut, from a bay of that lake to the river, was begun under Charles IX. but was not entirely completed before the reign of Charles XII. Polheim, whom I have already mentioned, erected, by order of that monarch, a sluice; which, not being constructed upon a firm foundation, was scarcely finished before it was undermined, and carried away by the water. From that time the Carlsgraf canal remained without a sluice, and consequently without a vessel passing it,

U 2

until

* From the almost insuperable difficulties attending the junction of the Hielmar and Wenner, a plan was projected of forming an inland navigation from the eastern coast of Sweden south of the Mæler, by means of the Wetter to the Wenner; and in 1774 a map was published for the purpose of proving the scheme to be practicable.

until the reign of Adolphus Frederick. In 1754 a new sluice was finished, which received the appellation of Tessin, in honour of the prime minister of that name. It was formed by a subterraneous passage, 40 feet long, 18 broad, and 12 high. But these dimensions were too small for the admission of vessels of more than 40 tons burden; and it frequently happened that even these could not pass whenever there was either too much or too little water. In relief of these difficulties another sluice, called, in honour of the present king, the sluice of Gustavus, was completed in 1768. This superb work is a cut of 400 feet, (half of which was perforated through the solid rock), and consists of two locks, each 200 feet in length, and 36 in breadth: the sides are strongly faced with brick and stone. The greatest depth of water is 13, the lowest 6 feet. The usual vessels which navigate this canal are of 80 tons burden; but when the water is high, larger may pass: in 1777 one of 133 tons worked its way through.

From the end of this canal to the village of Trolhætta, which includes a space of about five miles, the navigation of the river is uninterrupted: it flows in a gentle current; varies in its breadth from 300 yards to a mile; and is, in a few parts, prettily sprinkled with islands, some whereof are barren rock, others tufted with wood and covered with arable soil.

Near Trolhætta two ridges of mountains, which on each side run at a small distance from

from the river, approach its banks, and confine its stream in a narrow channel. In this spot it is about 400 feet in breadth, as smooth as a lake, and without any visible stream: a fine contrast to the roaring of the torrent below. This smoothness of the water continues till it bursts at once into the cataracts of Trolhætta, called the Gulfs of Hell, which render all farther navigation impossible. The bed of the river is solid rock; the banks are perpendicular; and, at the beginning of the fall, several granite islands, thinly strewed with underwood, junipers, and stubbed pines, rise in the midst of the stream, forming small straits, down which the water dashes with increasing impetuosity.

From the first opening of the fall to the part where the river again becomes navigable is about two miles; but it does not roll through the whole of this space in one uniform sheet of water, or with equal rage and violence. It is divided into four principal cataracts, each whereof is separated by whirlpools and eddies, forming, during the whole way, the most awful scenes, ever varying, and too sublime to be accurately described. The perpendicular height of all the falls, considered as one, is about 100 feet.

From this description the reader will readily conceive the extreme difficulty of rendering these cataracts navigable; and yet it was even through the midst of them that the daring projector attempted to form a canal, by the following works.

Just

Just above the first cataract, called Prästetället Fall, several dams were constructed, which turned the stream, and left the main bed of the river quite dry. In this part some rocky islands were cut through, or blown up; the bed was rendered level, and the cataracts nearly turned into still water. To continue the navigation, an island of red granite, called Malg, which rises in the midst of the great cataract, was divided, and a canal formed through it of 340 feet in length, including a sluice of 30: the depth of the fall, and, of course, the depth of the perforated rock, is $23\frac{1}{2}$ feet; the breadth 18. This is called Fkerbrad sluice, and was designed to consist of two locks. At a small distance another canal was formed on the side of the second great cataract, through a kind of promontory which projects into the stream; the solid granite was hollowed 860 feet in length, $56\frac{1}{2}$ in depth, and 18 in breadth. This sluice, called Polheim's sluice, was to consist of three locks, by which vessels were to be let down a fall of $56\frac{1}{2}$ feet.

At the distance of 2920 feet, a third cut was made close to Flateberg's fall, terminating in the sluice of Elvius, the last of this projected plan. The length of the cut is 28 feet; the breadth 18; and the depth or height of the fall $34\frac{1}{2}$. In order to form some idea in what manner the navigation was to be continued from the sluice of Polheim to that of Elvius, it will be necessary to give a short delineation of the intervening space.

A little below the sluice of Polheim the river dashes through a narrow pass, called Stamp-

Stampstræm; from thence it gradually widens into a kind of bay, named Hoyon's Warp; it is again cramped into a narrow channel by the nearer approach of the rocks on each side, and forms a cataract, called Helvert's fall; at the extremity of which it expands itself into a small basin, called Oli-Halla; and then again precipitates itself at Flateberg's fall; from whence it becomes navigable. Instead of continuing any works through the cataracts, or by the side of the river, the communication between the sluices of Polheim and Elvius, was attempted in the following manner. A dyke of stone was constructed across the river just below Flateberg's fall and the sluice of Elvius, with a view of raising the water 34 feet and $\frac{1}{2}$, turning its course through the sluice of Elvius, and forming a level with the bottom of that of Polheim. This chimerical project, which seems rather too ridiculous to have been seriously entertained, was however attempted. The king himself visited the work, and all Sweden was in eager expectation, that their favourite national hopes would at length be realized. The dyke was built; the river had risen 12 feet of the 34; when, in an instant, the weight of waters burst the barrier too feeble to restrain them, and swept away, in one moment, the labours and expence of several years*. Large subsidies had been annually raised

* The immensity of the expence will be best conceived by considering that all the cuts were made through the solid granite, the hardest of all stones.

raised for the prosecution of the work; and the national bank had readily advanced still greater loans; the sum total whereof has never been divulged. The failure of the project, after such immense labour and enormous expence, occasioned great discontents among the people; many of whom to this day believe, though there seems no foundation for the supposition, that the projectors, bribed by the Danes, purposely proceeded upon a plan which they knew could not succeed. But thus much is evident, that, throughout the whole undertaking, the works, stupendous in themselves, were conducted without reasonable care and attention; for after all, the cuts, which had been excavated with such difficulty, being only 18 feet in breadth, would have been too narrow to have admitted vessels of such size and burthen as usually navigate the Wenner. In a word, several ill-judged measures seem to have been taken; otherwise, although there were many natural obstructions to the success of the enterprize, yet greater obstacles have been surmounted. But Polheim was not a Brindley.

In consequence of this failure, all the works and sluices hitherto raised were neglected as totally useless, and a new plan for the canal of Trolhætta has been projected; according to which, instead of being carried, as before, along the channel of the river, it is to be cut through the solid rock that forms its banks. The length is to be 4700 feet, the breadth 36, and the depth

depth in some parts above 50. It is to consist of nine sluices; and when we reflect that the whole of this cut must be hollowed through the red granite, it is evident, that it will be attended with as many, if not more, difficulties than were experienced in the former attempt. It must by no means, however, be condemned as impracticable. The canal of the duke of Bridgewater, that of Languedoc, and the road through the mountain Gemmi in Switzerland, prove that scarcely any thing is impossible to human industry.

The chief question, in this respect, seems to be, whether the enormous expence attending the execution of the work would be compensated by the advantages resulting from its completion. And here, if we merely take into consideration the navigation from the Wenner to Gotheborg, we may venture to decide in the negative. But if we presume, that at any future period the communication should be formed from the Gulf of Bothnia to the Wenner, as in that case the cataracts of Trolhætta would be the only remaining interruption to the inland navigation from the eastern to the western coast of Sweden, the accomplishment of this canal could not surely be obtained at too dear a rate.

His present majesty, who, soon after his accession, visited these works at Trolhætta, wisely ordered them for the present to be suspended; but that the sluices of Gustavus and Aker should be finished without delay. Meanwhile, in order to facilitate the transport

port of the merchandize from the districts bordering upon the Wenner to Gotheborg, a wooden road has been constructed on the side of the river, from the beginning to the end of the cataracts. It is supported upon posts over the rocks, which, from their irregularity and roughness, would have been almost impassable for horses.

About a mile below the cataracts the course of the Gotha is again interrupted by a fall, called Akerstræm: there a canal has been made through a rock which projected into the river; the length of it is 182 feet, including the sluice; depth 26; and breadth 36. This cut was begun in 1774; it was far advanced when I saw it, and, it was expected, would be opened in 1781.

From Akerstræm the river is clear to Gotheborg, excepting at Edit, where its passage is stopped by a bed of rocks rising in the midst of the stream. On one side of these rocks another cut has been made, 600 feet in length, 20 in depth, but only 18 in breadth. The work is ill executed; and, when I was there, was in bad order. A petition had been presented to the king, that it might be repaired and improved to the same breadth as Akerfluice; and there was no doubt of its being effected.

The iron, and other merchandize, is now transported across the lake to Wennerborg; and from thence through the Carlsgraf canal, and down the river Gotha to Trolhætta. Upon coming to the cataracts, the goods are unloaded, and carried over the wooden road
about

about two miles to the end of the falls. There they are again embarked, and passing through the Akerstræm and Edit sluices, upon a supposition that they are by this time completed, arrive without further impediment at Gotheborg. In return, salt, spices, corn, tea, and other commodities of interior consumption, are sent up by the same channel into the provinces about the Wenner.

C H A P. X.

Gotheborg.—*Its trade.*—East India Company.
—*Herring Fishery.*—General remarks on
the commerce of Sweden.—Journey from
Gotheborg to Carlscrona.—Cottages, food,
manners, &c. of the peasants.

THE scenery of the country from Trolhætta to Gotheborg is wild and romantick beyond description. Innumerable ridges of barren rocks stretch in all directions; and between them lie the most fertile plains, which seldom exceed a mile in breadth, watered by the river Gotha: The mountains, which are composed of granite, are entirely destitute of trees, and many of them scarcely exhibit the smallest appearance of vegetation. In this part of Sweden I observed none of those detached fragments of granite, which so abundantly overspread as well many of its inland provinces, as the coast bordering on the Gulf of Bothnia.

In

In most places the river flows with a gentle current, and in a narrow channel, and is in some parts navigable only for small craft of about 20 tons burden. About ten miles from Gotheborg it divides itself into three branches ; two of which unite again after having encircled a small rocky island, upon the top of which stands the fort of Bohus, a picturesque object, much celebrated in the early history of Sweden, and at that time esteemed impregnable. The stream formed by the union of these two branches is called the Northern River, and falls into the sea after a course of about ten miles. The third branch, which I followed to Gotheborg, retains its original name of Gotha : the space included between the Northern River and the Gotha is named the island of Hisingen.

Gotheborg, which is distinguished by a commodious port, occupies the site of an ancient town, named Lodeſe, that was built by Gustavus Vasa ; and being endowed with considerable privileges, soon became the great emporium for the trade of the western provinces. Charles IX. when duke of Gothland, having, in 1604, laid the foundations of a new town in the island of Hisingen at no great distance from Lodeſe, called it Gotheborg, in honour of his dutchy. Upon his accession to the throne, he erected in his new town a trading company ; drew there many foreigners, particularly the Dutch, to whom he allowed an exemption from all duties of export and import during twenty years ; a corps of English and Scotch troops, under the command of William Stewart ;

Stewart; and granted to the Calvinists established therein the free exercise of their religion, the first place in Sweden where this toleration was permitted. By these means Gotheborg soon became a flourishing port*; and, next to Stockholm, the most commercial town in Sweden.

The town being in 1611 reduced to ashes by the Danes, was rebuilt in the reign of Gustavus Adolphus in its present situation, and obtained a confirmation of its antient rights, with the grant of several additional privileges.

Gotheborg is built in a very singular situation. At a small distance from the sea is a marshy plain, scarcely more than half a mile in breadth, watered by the rivers Gotha and Moldal, and almost entirely enclosed with high ridges of rocks, so bare and rugged, that they scarcely produce a single blade of grass, and exhibit as barren an appearance as the summits of the loftiest Alps. Gotheborg stands partly upon the ridges, and partly in the plain; and is divided from these different situations into the Upper and Lower Town. The latter is entirely level, intersected by several canals in the manner of the Dutch towns;

* A medal was struck in 1610, comparing this sudden increase of Gotheborg to the growth of a tree from a slip: on one side the king's name and title, with an inscription, "Gotheb. Prin. Fund. & Condit." On the reverse a large tree, from which hang suspended the arms of Gotheborg: beneath are the river Gotha, and the fortress Elfsborg, with the following motto:

*Quæ præbet latas arbor spatiantibus umbras,
Quo posita est primum tempore virga fuit.*

Dahlin, Vol. IV. p. 422.

towns; and its houses are all constructed upon piles: the upper part hangs on the declivities; and rows of buildings rise one above the other like the seats of an amphitheatre. The whole is regularly fortified; and its circumference is near three miles, exclusive of the suburbs, called Haga, which lie towards the harbour.

The streets are all uniformly straight: a few of the houses are of brick; but the generality are constructed with wood painted red. The harbour is formed by two chains of rocks, and is about a quarter of a mile in breadth. Its entrance is defended by the fort of New Elfsborg, which stands upon a small rocky island, and contains a garrison of 250 men.

There has been lately established at Gotheborg, a Royal Society of Sciences and Literature, upon the plan of that of Upsala. Its acts, which are written in the Swedish tongue and printed in the octavo form, contain various subjects in the several branches of science, natural history, antiquities, history, and polite letters*.

I was informed by a merchant who had resided two and twenty years at Gotheborg, that, during that period, its population has increased considerably, and that it now contains about 30,000 inhabitants. This flourishing state is undoubtedly owing to the extension of its commerce, particularly its East India Company, and the success of the herring fishery.

In

* At Lund was also instituted, in 1776, a Royal Physiographical Society, which was incorporated by the king in 1778. The subjects treated of in its acts relate only to natural history, chymistry, and agriculture.

In 1731 a company of merchants was established with the exclusive privilege of trading to the East Indies for 15 years; and after various alterations of their charter, the monopoly was, at the last renewal, confirmed for 20 years, on condition that the company should advance to government a loan of £124,980, one third whereof without interest; and should pay £3,125 for every vessel proceeding on a trading voyage to the East Indies. This company is merely a society of merchants, who send annually two or three vessels to China.

As the port of Stockholm in the Gulf of Bothnia is closed with ice until the season is too far advanced for ships to take their departure from thence to the East Indies, the company carries on its commerce from Gotheborg, whose harbour, being situated in the German ocean, is always open.

The following is the nature of this traffick: Sweden containing little specie, and few manufactures for exportation, the captain of each vessel first proceeds to Cadiz, where he borrows, in the company's name, 100,000 piastres, at the interest of 30 per cent. he then sails to Canton, and purchases tea, porcelain, and other Chinese commodities, which, upon his return to Sweden, are disposed of to great advantage. The usual net profit upon the whole cargo being 70 per cent; the gain, when the interest is deducted, amounts to about 40 per cent.

In 1740, the herrings, which had hitherto never approached the western shore of Sweden,

den, flocking in shoals to that coast, the inhabitants of Gotheborg established a fishery, which has been attended with considerable advantage. Its increasing produce will appear from the following table :

In 1752 it yielded only 1000 barrels* of herrings.

In 1753 -	20,766		In 1762 -	142,091
1754 -	52,822		1763 -	186,614 $\frac{1}{2}$
1755 -	74,791		1764 -	99,616 $\frac{1}{4}$
1761 -	117,212 $\frac{1}{2}$		1768 -	151,483

An English consul and several merchants of our nation reside at Gotheborg ; and a chapel, with a regular chaplain, is appropriated to their use.

As I did not remain a sufficient time in Sweden to gain accurate and circumstantial information concerning the commerce, I can only add the following particulars in addition to what has been already laid down upon the trade of Gotheborg.

By the navigation act passed in the diet of 1722, foreign vessels are not allowed to bring into Sweden any productions but those of their own countries, or to transport them from one port to another.

The principal exports of Sweden are copper, iron, ordnance stores, masts, planks, pitch and tar, train-oil, alum, pot-ash, salt petre, gunpowder, salt, salted fish, soap, vitriol. Its imports, tin, lead, grain, tobacco, snuff, wines, hardware, silk and filken stuffs, paper, tea and coffee, sugar, spices, drugs, thread, hemp, wool.

Cant-

* A barrel contains 1000 herrings.

Cantzler†, whose accurate account of Sweden cannot be too much recommended to the curious reader, informs us, that of the export trade Stockholm carries on $\frac{7}{3}$, Gotheborg $\frac{2}{3}$, and the other staple towns $\frac{1}{3}$; and of the import commerce Stockholm $\frac{1}{2}$, Gotheborg $\frac{1}{4}$, and the other towns $\frac{1}{4}$.

As the districts which I passed from Upsala to Trolhætta are esteemed the finest and most populous parts of Sweden, those which I traversed from Gotheborg to Carlscrona through the province of Smoland are said to be the wildest, least inhabited, and the most cultivated regions of this kingdom. The distance between Gotheborg and Carlscrona is 38 Swedish, or 247 English miles; and in this extent of ground only one place dignified with the name of a town presented itself. The villages, for the most part, consisted of six or seven houses; and sometimes, where I stopped to change horses, I found nothing but a single solitary cottage: yet, along this seemingly inhospitable track, I met with good roads, tolerable accommodations and a cheerful and contented peasantry.

March 15. I quitted Gotheborg, and passed over a succession of barren rocks with a few trees, similar to those which stretch along the coasts of the German Ocean near Gotheborg. As I advanced, the country became somewhat more fertile. Hills of granite appeared less frequent, but large masses were scattered over the face of the country. The

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region

† *Memoirs sur les Affaires Polit. et Econom. de Suede*, p. 374.

region which I traversed in this and the following day, though wild, and not capable of much cultivation, was yet infinitely diversified. It was an hilly district, in many parts overspread with forests of pines, beech, and oak, occasionally interspersed with pasture and small plains of arable land, sprinkled with several picturesque lakes, and watered by numberless rivulets, clear as chrystal, and gurgling over their stony channels.

During one post of this day's route I was driven by a peasant's daughter; and as the roads were in many parts exceedingly steep, it required some strength, and much dexterity, to direct the horses, and to prevent the carriage from being overturned; I proposed that my servant, who was an expert driver, should take the reins: the girl, however, offended at my questioning her skill, peremptorily rejected my proposal; and placing herself in the postillion's seat, drove off at full speed, governing the horses in such a skilful manner, that she soon quieted my apprehensions, and we arrived at the end of the post without the slightest alarm; nor was I for the future in the least apprehensive of trusting myself to the guidance of a Swedish country girl.

I passed the night at Hunnaryd in a peasant's cottage, and sat off early in the morning; but had not proceeded far before I was obliged to stop at Gislavy, to repair a wheel of my carriage: the place contained but one smith, and he had lately become blind; and as none of the wheels in the village would fit the axle-tree, I purchased a new axle-tree

tree and four wheels, for the sum of £1. 16s. upon which the body of my cart being placed, I proceeded on my journey. A little beyond Gislavy, I crossed a rivulet near an iron foundery. The native ore is procured in small round pieces, about the size of pea-shot, from the bottom of a neighbouring lake, and forged into excellent iron.

Soon afterwards, I quitted the mountainous district, and descended gradually into a sandy plain, diversified with woods, lakes, and corn-fields. About seven miles from Vernamo, where I took my station for the night, I again came into a hilly country, and advanced to Wexio, a town seated upon the banks of a pleasant lake, which contained a group of woody islands. The town, though a bishop's see, is exceedingly small: the houses are mostly constructed with wood; the inhabitants chiefly subsist by the traffick in cattle, that graze in the luxuriant pastures, with which the intervals of the most barren mountains and extensive forests are occasionally enriched.

As in the course of this route, I constantly took my repast during the day, and passed every night in the cottages, I had frequent opportunities of observing the customs, manners, and food of the peasants. Upon entering a cottage, I usually found all the family employed in carding flax, spinning thread, and in weaving coarse linen, and sometimes cloth. The peasants are excellent contrivers, and apply the coarsest materials to some useful purpose. The twist ropes from swines' bristles, horses' manes, and bark of trees,

and use eel-skins for bridles. Their food principally consists of salted flesh and fish, eggs, milk, and hard bread. At Michaelmas they usually kill their cattle, and salt them for the ensuing Winter and Spring. Twice in the year they bake their bread in large round cakes, which are strung upon files of sticks, and suspended close to the ceilings of the cottages. They are so hard as to be occasionally broken with a hatchet, but are not unpleasant. The peasants use beer for their common drink, and are much addicted to malt spirits. In the districts towards the western coasts, and at no great distance inland, tea and coffee are not unusually found in the Swedish cottages, which are procured in great plenty, and at a cheap rate, from Gotheborg.

The peasants are well clad in strong cloth of their own weaving. Their cottages, though built with wood, and only of one story, are comfortable and commodious. The room in which the family sleep is provided with ranges of beds in tiers (if I may so express myself), one above the other: upon the wooden testers of the beds in which the women lie are placed others for the reception of the men, to which they ascend by means of ladders.

To a person who has just quitted Germany, and been accustomed to tolerable inns, the Swedish cottages may perhaps appear miserable hovels; to me, who had been long used to places of far inferior accommodation, they seemed almost palaces. The traveller is able to procure many conveniences, and particu-

ticularly a separate room from that inhabited by the family, which could seldom be obtained in the Polish and Russian villages. During my course through those two countries, a bed was a phænomenon which seldom occurred, except in the large towns, and even then not always completely equipped; but the poorest huts of Sweden were never deficient in this article of comfort: an evident proof that the Swedish peasants are more civilized than those of Poland and Russia.

After having witnessed the slavery of the peasants in those two countries, it was a pleasing satisfaction to find myself again among freemen, in a kingdom where there is a more equal division of property; where there is no vassalage, where the lowest order enjoy a security of their persons and property; and where the advantages resulting from this right are visible to the commonest observer.

On the 18th at noon I quitted the province of Smoland, and entered that of Blekinge. As I approached the shores of the Baltic towards Carlscrona, ridges of granite again made their appearance, sometimes bare, sometimes covered with heath, or clothed with forest. About half a mile from Carlscrona we came upon a fine view of that town, standing in an island.

During a fortnight's progress from Stockholm to Carlscrona, through a tract of about 500 English miles, the weather was so clear, dry, and delightful, that I felt no inconvenience from performing the journey in an open cart. There was a gentle frost at night and morning;

morning ; but the remaining part of the day was cheered with a genial sun. The spring, indeed, of that year was remarkably forward and exceedingly mild. The port of Carlscrona, which is frequently closed with ice until the month of April, was open early in March. Usually the peasants of Upland and Westmanland seldom till their lands before April* ; but I observed, during my passage through those provinces in the beginning of March, that the husbandmen had already begun to plough the fields, and to sow their barley and oats. The rapid progress of vegetation in these northern regions was extremely visible from the quick shooting of the pasture and young corn, which, though the snow had only been melted three weeks, were in a flourishing state.

I was greatly surprized to find that Sweden would produce sufficient grain for the interior consumption of the inhabitants, if such large quantities were not employed in the distillation of malt spirits. The northern parts of Sweden and Finland produce excellent rye ; and the southern provinces yield wheat, oats, and barley. The wheat and rye are sown in the middle of August, and are reaped in the same month of the following year. Barley and oats are consigned to the ground in Spring immediately upon the melting of the snow : the former is cut down towards the end of August ; and the oats about the middle of September.

* Am. Acad. p. 372 ; also Stillingfleet's Tracts, p. 153.

C H A P. XI.

Carlsrona.—*New docks.*—*Swedish fleet.*—*Sailors.*—*Christianstadt.*—*Helsingborg.*—*General remarks on the mode of travelling in Sweden.*—*Post-horses.*—*Roads.*—*Similarity between many general expressions in the English and Swedish tongues.*

CARLSCRONA derives its origin and name from Charles XI. who first laid the foundations of a new town in 1680, and removed the fleet from Stockholm to this place, on account of its advantageous situation in the center of the Swedish seas, and the superior security of its harbour. The greatest part of Carlsrona stands upon a small rocky island, which rises gently in a bay of the Baltick; the suburbs extend over another small rock, and along the mole close to the basin where the fleet is moored. The way into the town from the main land is carried over a dyke to an island, and from thence along two long wooden bridges joined by a barren rock. The town is spacious, and contains about 18,000 inhabitants. It is adorned with one or two handsome churches, and a few tolerable houses of brick; but the generality of buildings are of wood. The suburbs are fortified towards the land by a stone wall.

The entrance into the harbour, which by nature is extremely difficult from a number of shoals

shoals and rocky islands, is still further secured from the attack of an enemy's fleet by two strong forts built on two islands, under the batteries of which all vessels must pass.

During our stay at Carlscrona, we received great civilities, and were entertained in the most hospitable manner by many persons of the first distinction; and had no difficulty in obtaining permission to inspect the dock-yard, and the whole fleet.

Formerly vessels in this port, when careened and repaired, were laid upon their sides in the open harbour, until a dock, according to a plan given by Polheim, was hollowed in the solid rock: it was begun in 1714, and finished in 1724; but, as it was too small for the admission of men of war, it has lately been enlarged, and is now capable of receiving a ship of the first rate. Its dimensions are in length 190 Swedish feet; in depth 33; and in breadth 46. It contains 300,000 cubick feet of water, and is usually emptied in ten hours. Ninety men are employed in pumping at the same time, and are relieved every half hour by the same number.

This being at present the only receptacle for the repairing of ships, new docks have been begun upon a stupendous plan worthy of the antient Romans. According to the original scheme, it was intended to construct thirty docks, for building and laying up the largest ships, at the extremity of the harbour.

A large bason, capable of admitting two men of war, is designed to communicate, by sluices, with two smaller basons, from each of which

which are to extend, like the radii of a circle, five rows of covered docks: each row is to be separated by walls of stone; and each dock to be provided by sluice-gates, so as to be filled or emptied by means of pumps. Close to the docks magazines for naval stores are to be constructed, and the whole to be enclosed with a stone wall.

The project was begun in 1757, but was much neglected until the accession of his present majesty, who warmly patronized the arduous undertaking. At the commencement of the works £25,000 were annually expended upon them; which sum has been lessened to about £6,000 per annum; and the number of docks reduced to twenty.

The following was the state of these works in March, 1779.

The first large basin was finished. Its dimensions are 250 feet in length, 110 in breadth, and 32 in depth. The greatest part has been hollowed out of the rock, which was perforated under water, and the excavations filled with gun-powder introduced and exploded through hollow tubes. The rock being thus blown up and removed, the bottom and sides were afterwards smoothed, cemented with puzzulana brought from Naples, and nicely finished to an even surface. Three of the sides are faced with hewn granite; and the fourth is defended from the violence of the waves by a pier of the same material.

The two entrances into the smaller basins were nearly completed, and the sluice-gates, of a singular construction, were building: they
are

are hollow machines, and are so contrived, that, when filled with water, they afford a passage to the ship by sinking, and rise again when emptied. The principle of mechanicks by which they act is somewhat similar to that of the kameels employed in conveying large vessels over the bars at Amsterdam and Peterburgh *. The two smaller basons, formed by excavations of the rock, and of a semi-circular shape, were partly finished.

With respect to the docks, the materials were prepared for their construction; and the rock in some places had been blown away, and in others the earth had been removed. The bottom of one was already completed; its shape was elliptical; the platform and lower part of the walls were composed of hewn granite, and cemented with puzzulana; and the stones, upon which the keel of a new ship was to be laid down, were adjusted. It was expected that this dock would be entirely covered in before the end of 1779. It was computed, that one new dock would be annually finished; and that in twenty years this grand undertaking would be carried into execution. The water will be introduced, and pumped out, by windmills, or by hands, as occasion requires.

The primary view and intention of this grand plan was to obtain dry docks, for the purpose of keeping the whole fleet entirely covered from wind and weather. It has, however, been a question much agitated in Sweden, whether large vessels are not more effectively

* See p. 474 of the second volume.

tually preserved in water, than when secured in dry docks; a solution of which can only be given by persons well experienced in naval affairs. But should this be allowed, yet these docks will still be greatly serviceable for the construction and repairing, if not for the preservation of ships.

The ships are built at Carlscrona, chiefly by English artizans. Though the provinces of Blekinge and Skone abound with oaks, yet, as there is not a sufficiency for a continued supply, the Swedes procure their ship-timber from Germany. They made their two last contracts with the king of Prussia; the first for 400,000 Swedish cubick feet*; the last for 200,000. The latter were delivered, in 1778, at the rate of 5*s.* 10*d.* per cubick foot. They are supplied from their own territories with masts and deals, pitch and tar, and the greatest part of the flax used in the navy; and manufacture their own ropes and sails from hemp chiefly imported from Riga. They cast their own cannon, and make their own gunpowder with Swedish saltpetre.

The harbour of Carlscrona, in which the Swedish fleet lies at anchor, is large and commodious, with depth of water sufficient for ships of the first rate to carry their lower tier of guns.

Upon paper, the Swedish navy, in 1779, amounted to 30 ships of the line, including those of 40 guns, and 15 frigates, beside galleys, prames, and xebecs. But as several of these vessels were very old and exceedingly out

* 1027 Swedish feet = 1000 English feet.

out of repair, we could not estimate those fit for service at that period to have been more than 20 ships of the line, and 10 frigates.

Though I was not able to obtain a complete catalogue of the whole navy; yet the following list of all the ships then in commission, and fitting out for a cruise in the Baltick in 1779, the æra of the armed neutrality, will help to supply the deficiency.

Vessels fitting out in March, 1779.

Names.	Guns.	Names.	Guns.
Sophia Magdalena, new	74	Vasa, new	60
Gustavus III. new	74	Upland, stationed at	} 40
Prince Gustavus	74	Gotheborg	
Gotha Lyon	74	Jaramas	40
King Adolphus Frederick	70	Swart Orn	40
Frederick Adolphus, new	64	Illerin, bound to Morocco	36
Sophia Albertina	64	Prince Gustavus, new	32
Enigheten	64	Trolle, in Finland	32
Finland	60	Erensvard, in Finland	32

The seamen belonging to government are registered, and amount to 18,000; of these some receive their pay in money; and others are distributed in the same manner as the national militia, small portions of land in the islands and upon the sea-coast being assigned to them for their subsistence. Of these 18,000 sailors, according to the most favourable accounts, only about 6000 are reputed to be experienced seamen: the rest are mere peasants. Upon an emergency, the king enjoys the power of pressing sailors from the merchantmen, but only in exchange for the registered seamen.

At Carlscrona, I rejoined my companions, whom I had quitted at Stockholm, exchanged my

my open cart for a more commodious vehicle, and continued my journey from thence to Helsingborg, which closes my travels in Sweden. Our route lay through the provinces of Blekinge and Skone. For the first two or three posts the country was hilly and rocky, and covered with forest; afterwards it changed to a level and fertile plain. Our road lay near the shore, and we had many fine sea views, with numerous rocks and small islands scattered in all directions. About twelve miles from the village of Felkinge, where we took our station for the night; we entered Skone, called by foreigners Scania, the most level, the most sandy, and yet the most fertile of all the Swedish provinces. We passed through Christianstadt, a strong fortified town, built in 1614 by Christian IV. king of Denmark, when this province belonged to the Danes; and finally ceded to the Swedes by the peace of Roskild, in 1658. The town is small, but neatly built, and is esteemed the strongest fortress in Sweden. The houses are all of brick, and mostly stuccoed white. It stands in a marshy plain close to the river Helge-a, which flows into the Baltic at Ahus, about the distance of 20 miles, and is navigable only for small craft of 7 tons burden. English vessels annually resort to this port for alum, pitch, and tar. The inhabitants have manufactures of cloth and filken stuffs; and carry on a small degree of commerce.

A little beyond Christianstadt, as we approached the coasts of the sound, the country rose into small inequalities, covered at intervals

vals with trees: the soil was chiefly sand mixed with vegetable mould. We arrived, late in the evening of March the 21st, at Helsingborg, the place of embarkation upon the sound for Denmark.

Before I conclude my travels into Sweden, I shall throw together a few remarks upon the mode of travelling, and other general heads, which I had no occasion to touch upon in a particular manner.

Travelling in Sweden is perfectly commodious to a person acquainted with the usual method of procuring horses. At the different towns and villages upon the high roads post-horses are not always regularly stationed; but if the traveller sends forward a peasant to appoint relays, at a certain stipulated place and time, his orders are punctually executed. The neglect of this precaution has caused frequent delays to inexperienced foreigners, as it did to us upon our first arrival in the country; for we were obliged to wait at each post-house until horses could be obtained from the adjacent villages. The usual practice of supplying post-horses is regulated in a manner very convenient and cheap to travellers, yet extremely burdensome to the natives *.

All

* Cantzler makes the following judicious remarks upon this subject. In enumerating the obstacles to the improvement of agriculture in Sweden, he mentions, among others, " Les
" voiturages publics et le transport des voyageurs, à faire
" tour-à-tour par les paysans assignés aux relais de poste les
" plus voisins. Ceux-ci sont extrêmement onéreux aux cul-
" tivateurs, obligés, chacun au moins trois fois par mois,
" d'envoyer un valet ou garçon avec un ou deux chevaux à
" l'endroit de relais, qui leur est assigné, pour s'y tenir une
" journée

All persons possessing land of a certain tenure are bound to send one or more horses two or three times in the month to the neighbouring post-house: if they are not wanted, they return, after waiting 24 hours, without any compensation for their labour and loss of time; and, if employed, receive a very inadequate recompence *. I found, indeed, travelling so exceedingly cheap in Sweden, that, during a course of 500 miles, from my departure from Stockholm to my arrival at Carlscrona, my whole expences, including the prime cost of my cart, the hire of post-horses, the gratuities to the drivers, and the accommodations on the road, did not amount to £20, although my Swedish servant occasionally taxed me with want of œconomy. The drivers being

“ journée entière prêt au transport des postes, sans que les
 “ paysans en reçoivent aucune compensation, à moins qu’il
 “ ne survienne de voyageur. Cette corvée s’appelle Holls-
 “ skjuts et il s’y perd chaque fois un jour et demi. Mr. Mo-
 “ deer, secrétaire de la société patriotique, suppose 700 endroits
 “ de relais dans tout ce royaume, et sept chevaux journalle-
 “ ment assignés à chaque endroit de relais. En ne comp-
 “ tant même que 300 endroits de relais, et 4 chevaux pour
 “ chacun, ce qui fait 1200 chevaux par jour, ou 432,000 che-
 “ vaux par an, à 360 jours, cette sorte de corvées cause pour
 “ l’agriculture une perte annuelle de 216,000 journées d’ou-
 “ vrage à faire par un valet et deux chevaux.” See Cant-
 zler’s Memoires, &c. p. 202.

* When we first entered Sweden, we only paid 24 stivers = $7\frac{1}{2}d.$ for each horse per Swedish mile from the towns, and 12 stivers, or — $3\frac{1}{2}d.$ from the villages: this price was so exceedingly low, that at the last diet the states increased it: the new regulation took place on the 16th of March, 1779; from which time 32 stivers = $10d.$ was paid in the towns for each horse for a Swedish mile, and 16 or $5d.$ in the villages. Even according to this advanced price, the highest sum is not quite $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ and the lowest not a penny, per horse, for an English mile.

ing the peasants themselves, who usually attend with their own horses, are contented with a small acknowledgment of about *2d.* or *3d.* for each post. The horses are small, but lively and active; two were usually the complement for my cart; and they went generally at the rate of six or seven miles in an hour: the postillion never rode, but sat upon a small bench at the extremity of the cart.

The high roads of Sweden wind agreeably through the country, are made with stone or gravel, and are as good as our turnpikes in England; and yet not a single toll is exacted from the traveller. Each landholder is obliged to keep in repair a certain part of the road in proportion to his property; and, for the purpose of ascertaining their respective portions, small pieces of wood, or stone, marked with numbers and capital letters, are placed at different distances on each side of the way.

In no kingdom, since I quitted England, have I observed so many seats scattered over the face of the country as I perceived in Sweden, where the gentlemen of moderate fortunes, as with us, are accustomed to reside upon their estates in rural plenty. These seats, being composed of an assemblage of wooden buildings and painted red, make a neat appearance: occupying a large extent of ground, they look at some distance like small villages, and contribute greatly to the ornament of the country; they are most frequent near the lakes, and are not uncommonly situated, in the midst of hanging woods, on broken rocks suspended over the water.

During

During my progress through this kingdom, I could not avoid being struck with a surprising resemblance between the English and Swedish languages, not only in single words, but in whole phrases, so that a quick English ear may comprehend many expressions in common conversation. Among other instances of this kind, I heard the postillions cry out, "Come, let us go;"—"let us see;"—"stand still;"—"hold your tongue;"—"go on *." I naturally inquired their meaning of my interpreter, and found that they had the same signification as in our own language. They are for the most part pronounced more like the the Scottish † than the English accent; and indeed, in general, the Swedes appeared to me as if they were talking broad Scotch. Nor is this any matter of wonder; for it is probable, that the Scottish mode of speaking is the same as was formerly used in England; and that, while we have gradually softened our pronunciation, the Scots have retained it. With respect to the similarity between the Swedish and English tongues ‡, we may remark, that they are both dialects of the Teutonick or German;

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and

* These words are thus written in the Swedish tongue "*Kom*" "*let oss go*"—" *Let oss se*"—" *Stand still*"—" *Hold din tunga*"—" "*Go on.*"

† A Swedish gentleman of my acquaintance made the same remark during a tour in Scotland; that there was a much nearer resemblance between the Scotch and Swedish, than between the Swedish and English, both in words and general pronunciation. The same gentleman also informed me, that there are several obsolete Swedish words which are very common in Scotland.

‡ That the affinity between the Swedish and English languages was more obvious in former times appears from an anecdote mentioned in p. 183 of this volume.

and if in pronunciation they resemble more to each other than to their original stock, it is owing to this circumstance, that we are certainly descended from the Swedes and Danes; whose languages are only different dialects; and the old Saxon, which gave rise to the English, was probably first introduced into our islands by settlers, or invaders, from these northern kingdoms.

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B O O K VIII.

C H A P. I.

Passage of the Sound.—Entrance into Denmark.—Elsinoor.—Toll of the Sound.—Cronborg castle and palace.—Anecdote of queen Matilda.—Hamlet's garden.—History of Hamlet from Saxo Grammaticus.—Copenhagen.—Presentation at court.—Isle of Amack.

MARCH 22. At Helsingborg we embarked for Denmark, and crossed the Sound, which separates that kingdom from Sweden. The wind blew fresh, and was directly contrary ; but by tacking we reached Elsinor in an hour and an half : the direct distance between the nearest points of the two coasts is about three miles. Midway we had a fine view of the two shores, with the towns of Helsingborg and Elsinor ; the former crowned by an an-

tient tower ; the latter distinguished by the palace of Cronborg, a less romantick, but no less beautiful, object. The shores of Sweden to the North of Helsingborg are steep and rocky ; but decrease in height towards the south, and become low and flat. Those of Zealand consist of ridges of sand.

Elfsnoor is a well-built town, and makes a better appearance than those to which we had lately been accustomed : the houses are of brick, similar to those in the United Provinces.

Elfsnoor was a small village, containing a few fishermens' huts, until 1445, when it was made a staple town by Eric of Pomernia ; who conferred upon the new settlers considerable immunities, and built a castle for their defence *. From that period it gradually increased in size and wealth ; and is now the most commercial place in Denmark next to Copenhagen. It contains about 5000 inhabitants, amongst whom are a considerable number of foreign merchants, and the consuls of the principal nations trading to the Baltick. The passage of the Sound is guarded by the fortress of Cronborg, which is situated upon the edge of a peninsular promontory, the nearest point of land from the opposite coast of Sweden. It is strongly fortified towards the shore by ditches, bastions, and regular entrenchments ; and towards the sea by several batteries, mounted with 60 cannon, the largest whereof are 48 pounders. Every vessel, as it passes, lowers her top-sails, and pays

* Messenii Scandia Illustrata. Lib. III. p 50.

pays a toll at Elfsinöör. It is generally asserted, that this fortress guards the Sound; and that all the ships must, on account of the shoal-waters and currents, steer so near the batteries, as to be exposed to their fire, in case of refusal. This however, is a mistaken notion. On account, indeed, of the numerous and opposite currents in the Sound, the safest passage lies near the fortress; but the water in any part is of sufficient depth for vessels to keep at a distance from the batteries, and the largest ships can even sail close to the coast of Sweden. The constant discharge, however, of the toll is not so much owing to the strength of the fortress, as to a compliance with the publick law of Europe. Many disputes have arisen concerning the right by which the crown of Denmark imposes such a duty. The kings of Sweden, in particular, claiming an equal title to the free passage of the Strait, were for some time exempted by treaty from paying it; but in 1720, Frederick I. agreed that all Swedish vessels should, for the future, be subject to the usual imposts.

All vessels, beside a small duty, are rated at 1½ per cent. of their cargoes, except the English, French, Dutch, and Swedish, which pay only one per cent.; and in return, the crown takes the charge of constructing light houses, and erecting signals to mark the shoals and rocks, from the Categate to the entrance into the Baltick. The tolls of the Sound and of the two Belts supply an annual revenue of above £100,000.

The palace of Cronborg, which stands in the fortress, is a square Gothick building of
free

free stone : as appears from an inscription over the gate, it was begun by Frederick II. and has been since repaired and augmented by succeeding sovereigns. It contains nothing worthy of particular description, excepting two good portraits of Frederick II. and his son Christian IV. and several battle pieces representing the wars of the latter, a prince of consummate courage and eminent abilities, the greatest, yet the most unsuccessful, among the Danish monarchs.

In this palace was imprisoned the late unfortunate queen Matilda. During her confinement she inhabited the governor's apartment, and had permission to walk upon the side-batteries, or upon the leads of the tower. She was uncertain of the fate that awaited her ; and had great reason to apprehend, that the party which had occasioned her arrest meditated still more violent measures. When the English minister at Copenhagen brought an order for her enlargement, which he had obtained by his spirited conduct, she was so surprized with the unexpected intelligence, that she instantly burst into a flood of tears, embraced him in a transport of joy, and called him her deliverer. After a short conference, the minister proposed, that her majesty should immediately embark on board of a ship that was waiting to carry her from a kingdom, in which she had experienced such a train of misfortunes. But, however anxious she was to depart, one circumstance checked the excess of her joy : a few months before her imprisonment she had been delivered of a princess, whom

whom she suckled herself. The rearing of this child had been her only comfort; and she had conceived a more than parental attachment to it, from its having been the constant companion of her misery. The infant was at that period afflicted with the measles; and, having nursed it with unceasing solicitude, she was desirous of continuing her attention and care. All these circumstances had so endeared the child to her, rendered more susceptible of tenderness in a prison than in a court, that when an order for detaining the young princess was intimated to her, she testified the strongest emotions of grief, and could not, for some time, be prevailed upon to bid a final adieu. At length, after bestowing repeated caresses upon this darling object of her affection, she retired to the vessel in an agony of despair. She remained upon deck, her eyes immovably directed towards the palace of Cronborg, which contained her child that had been so long her only comfort, until darkness intercepted the view. The vessel having made but little way during night, at day-break she observed with fond satisfaction that the palace was still visible; and could not be persuaded to enter the cabin as long as she could discover the faintest glimpse of the battlements.

It is well known that her majesty resided at Zell, where she was carried off, by a scarlet fever, in the sixteenth day of her illness.

Queen Matilda was naturally of a lively disposition, until her misfortunes brought on a settled melancholy, which preyed upon her mind. In company she endeavoured to dis-
semble

seem her sorrows, and assume a cheerfulness to which her heart was a stranger. She became extremely fond of solitude; and, when alone, indulged her grief in the most bitter lamentations. She retained, to her last moments, the most unaffected attachment to her children in Denmark: with all the anxiety of a parent she made repeated inquiries after them, and was delighted with receiving the minutest accounts of their health, amusements, and education. Having obtained their portraits from Copenhagen, she placed them in her most retired apartment, often apostrophized them as if they were present *, and addressed them in the tenderest manner.

Adjoining to a royal palace, which stands about half a mile from Cronborg, is a garden, which our curiosity led us to visit, as it is called Hamlet's garden, and is said, by tradition, to be the very spot where the murder of his father was perpetrated. The house is of modern date, and is situated at the foot of a sandy ridge near the sea. The garden occupies the side of the hill, and is laid out in terraces rising one above another. Elsinor is the scene of Shakespeare's Hamlet; and the original history from which that divine author derived the principal incidents of his play is founded upon facts, but so deeply buried in remote antiquity, that it is difficult to discriminate truth from fable. Saxo Grammaticus, who flourished in the 12th century, is the earliest historian of Denmark, that relates the adventures

* I received this anecdote from a person at Zell, who had more than once overheard this affecting scene.

tures of Hamlet. His account is extracted, and much altered, by Belleforest, a French author; an English translation of whose romance was published under the title of the "Historye of Hamblet *," and from this translation Shakespeare formed the groundwork of his play, though with many alterations and additions.

As Saxo Grammaticus is an author whose works are in the hands of but few persons, and as I never met with an English translation, it cannot be unacceptable to give a short sketch of Hamlet's History, as recorded in the Danish Annals†, that the reader may compare the original character with that delineated by Shakespeare.

Long before the introduction of Christianity into Denmark, Horwendillus Prefect, or King of Jutland, was married to Gerutha, or Gertrude, daughter of Ruric king of Denmark, by whom he had a son, called Amlethus, or Hamlet. Fengo murders his brother Horwendillus, marries Gertrude, and ascends the throne. Hamlet, to avoid his uncle's jealousy, counterfeits folly; and is represented as such an abhorrer of falsehood, that, though he constantly frames the most evasive

* The only copy I ever saw of this work is in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, in the curious collection relative to the School of Shakespeare, given by the late Mr. Capell to that society. It is in black letter, entitled, The Historye of Hamblet; Imprinted by Richard Bradocke for Thomas Pavier.—The heads of the chapters are given in Mr. Capell's posthumous work, the School of Shakespeare, Vol. III. p. 90: and a few extracts in Malone's Supplement to Johnson's and Steeven's Shakspeare.

† Sax. Gram. Lib. III. and IV.

evasive and even absurd answers, yet artfully contrives never to deviate from truth. Fengo, suspecting the reality of his madness, endeavours, by various methods*, to discover the real state of his mind: amongst others, he departs from Elfinoor, concerta a meeting between Hamlet and Gertrude, concluding that the former would not conceal his sentiments from his own mother; and orders a courtier to conceal himself, unknown to both, for the purpose of overhearing their conversation. The courtier repairs to the queen's apartment, and hides himself under a heap of straw†. Hamlet, upon entering the cabinet, suspecting the presence of

* Among other attempts, Fengo orders his companions to leave him in a retired spot, and a young woman is placed in his way with a view to extort from him a confession that his folly was counterfeited. Hamlet would have fallen into the snare, if a friend had not secretly conveyed to him intelligence of this treachery: he carries the woman to a more secret place, and obtains her promise not to betray him; which she readily consents to, as she had been brought up with him from her infancy. Being asked, upon his return home, if he had indulged his passion, he answers in the affirmative; but renders himself not believed by the most artful subterfuges, which, though true, seemed evidently to mark a disordered understanding, and by the positive denial of the woman. "Upon this woman," as Capell observes, "is grounded Shakespeare's Ophelia; and his deliverance from this snare by a friend suggested his Horatio"—"the rude outlines," as Mr. Malone remarks, "of those characters." But in this piece there are no traits of the character of Polonius: there is, indeed, a counsellor, and he places himself in the queen's chamber behind the arras; but this is the whole. The ghost of the old Hamlet is likewise the offspring of our author's creative imagination." See Capell's *School of Shakespeare*, Vol. III. p. 20; and Malone's *Supplement*, p. 353.

† The reader will recollect, that straw used formerly to be spread over the floors as an article of great luxury.

of some spy, imitates, after his usual affectation of folly, the crow of a cock; and, shaking his arms like wings, jumps † upon the heap of straw, till, feeling the courtier, he draws his sword, and instantly dispatches him. He then cuts the body to pieces, boils it, and gives it to the hogs. He then avows to his mother, that he only personated a fool, reproaches her for her incestuous marriage with the murderer of her husband; and concludes his remonstrances by saying, “In-
“stead therefore, of condoling my insanity,
“deplore your own infamy, and learn to la-
“ment the deformity of your own mind*.”

The

† This part stands thus in the English account: “The counsellor entered secretly into the queene’s chamber, and there hid himselfe behind the arras, and long before the queene and Hamlet came thither; who being craftie and politique, as soone as he was within the chamber, doubting some treason, and fearing, if he should speake severely and wisely to his mother, touching his secret practises, hee should be understood, and by that means intercepted, used his ordinary manner of dissimulation, and began to come (r. crow) like a cocke, beating with his arms (in such manner as cockes use to strike with their wings), upon the hangings of the chambers, whereby, feeling something stirring them, he cried *a rat! a rat!* and presently drawing his sworde, thrust it into the hangings; which done, he pulled the counsellor (half-deade) out by the heels, made an end of killing him; and, being slain, cut his body in pieces, which he caused to be boiled, and then cast it into an open vault or privie.” Malone’s Supplement, Vol. I. p. 357.

* The closet scene, which is so beautiful in Shakespeare’s Hamlet, is thus concisely, but not less finely, described by the Danish historian.

“Cumque mater magno ejulatu questa presentis filii socordiam deslere cepisset: ‘quid,’ inquit, mulierum turpissima gravissimi criminis dissimulationem falso lamenti genere expetis, quæ scorti more lasciviens nefariam ac detestabilem thori conditionem secuta viri tui interfectorem pleno incesti
“finu

The queen is silent ; but is recalled to virtue by these admonitions. Fengo returns to Elfinoor, sends Hamlet to England under the care of two courtiers, and requests the king, by a letter, to put him to death. Hamlet discovers and alters the letter ; so that, upon their arrival in England, the king orders the two courtiers, to immediate execution, and betroths his daughter to Hamlet, who gives many astonishing proofs of a most transcendent understanding. At the end of the year he returns to Denmark, and alarms the court by his unexpected appearance, as a report of his death had been spread, and preparations were making for his funeral. Having reassumed his affected insanity, he purposely wounds his fingers in drawing his sword, which the by-standers immediately fasten to the scabbard. He afterwards invites the principal nobles to an entertainment, makes them

“ finu amplecteris : et ei qui prolis tuæ parentem extinxerat
 “ obscœnissimis blandimentorum illecebris adularis. Ita nem-
 “ pe equæ conjugum suorum victoribus maritantur. Brutorum
 “ natura hæc est ; ut in diversa passim conjugia rapiantur :
 “ hoc tibi exemplo prioris mariti memoriam exolevisse constat.
 “ Ego vero non ab re stolidi speciem gero, cum haud dubitem
 “ quin is qui fratrem oppresserit, in affines quoque pari crude-
 “ litate debacchaturus sit : unde stoliditatis quæ industriz ha-
 “ bitum amplecti præstat, et incolumitatis præsidium ab extre-
 “ mæ deliramentorum specie mutuari. In animo tamen pater-
 “ næ ultionis studium perseverat ; sed rerum occasiones aucu-
 “ por, temporum opportunitates opperior. Non idem omni-
 “ bus locus competit. Contra obscurum immitemque animum
 “ altioribus ingenii modis uti convenit. Tibi vero superva-
 “ cuum sit meam lamentari desipientiam, quæ tuam justius ig-
 “ nominiam deplorare debueras. Itaque non alienæ sed pro-
 “ priæ mentis vitium desleas necesse est. Cætera filere memi-
 “ neris.” Tali convitio laceratam matrem ad excolendum
 “ virtutis habitum revocavit, præteritosque ignes præsentibus
 “ illecebris præferre docuit.”

them intoxicated, and in that state covers them with a large curtain, which he fastens to the ground with wooden pegs; he then sets fire to the palace, and the nobles, being enveloped in the curtain, perish in the flames. During this transaction he repairs to Fengo's apartment, and, taking the sword which lay by the side of the bed, puts his own in its place; he instantly awakens, and informs him, that Hamlet is come to revenge the murder of his father. Fengo starts from his bed, seizes the sword, but, being unable to draw it, falls by the hand of Hamlet. The next morning, when the populace were assembled to view the ruins of the palace, Hamlet summons the remaining nobles, and in a masterly speech, which is too long to insert in this place, lays open the motives of his own conduct, proves his uncle to have been the assassin of his father, and concludes in the following words: "Tread upon the
" ashes of the monster, who, polluting the
" wife of his murdered brother, joined incest
" to parricide; and ruled over you with the
" most oppressive tyranny. Receive me as
" the minister of a just revenge, as one who
" felt for the sufferings of his father and his
" people. Consider me as the person who
" has purged the disgrace of his country,
" extinguished the infamy of his mother,
" freed you from the despotism of a monster,
" whose crimes, if he had lived, would have
" daily increased, and terminated in your
" destruction. Acknowledge my services;
" and if I have deserved it, present me with
" the

“ the crown: behold in me the author of
“ these advantages; no degenerate person,
“ no parricide, but the rightful successor to
“ the throne, and the pious avenger of a
“ father’s murder. I have rescued you from
“ slavery, restored you to liberty, and re-esta-
“ blished your glory; I have destroyed a ty-
“ rant, and triumphed over an assassin. The
“ recompence is in your hands; you can esti-
“ mate the value of my services, and in your
“ virtue I rest my hopes of reward.”

This speech has the desired effect; the greater part of the assembly shed tears, and all who are present unanimously proclaim him king amid repeated acclamations.

Hamlet, soon after his elevation, sails to England, and orders a shield to be made, on which the principal actions of his life are represented. The king receives him with feigned demonstrations of joy, falsely assures him that his daughter is dead, and recommends him to repair to Scotland as his ambassador, and to pay his addresses to the queen Hermetruda. He gives this insidious advice with the hopes that Hamlet may perish in the attempt; as the queen, who was remarkable for her chastity and cruelty, had such an aversion to all proposals of marriage, that not one of her suitors had escaped falling a sacrifice to her vengeance. Hamlet, in opposition to all difficulties, performs the embassy; and, by the assistance of his shield, which inspires the lady with a favourable opinion of his wisdom and courage, obtains her in marriage, and returns with her to England.

land. Informed, by the princess to whom he had been betrothed, that her father meditates his assassination, Hamlet avoids his fate by wearing armour under his robe; puts to death the king of England, and sails to Denmark with his two wives, where he is soon afterwards killed in a combat with Vigletus, son of Ruric. Hamlet, adds the historian, was a prince, who, if his good fortune had been equal to his deserts, would have rivaled the gods in splendour, and in his actions would have exceeded even the labours of Hercules*.

The distance from Elsinoor to Copenhagen is about 20 miles; our route lay occasionally by the side of the sea, sometimes through small woods of beech and oak, and at other times through an open country rising into declivities; the soil is sandy mixed with loam, well cultivated, and yields all sorts of grain. The cottages are numerous and neat, built with brick, and many of them white-washed. We had an excellent road, for which convenience we paid several tolls; a tax from which we had been exempted in Poland, Russia, and Sweden. We reached the metropolis towards the close of the evening.

Copenhagen stands upon a small promontory on the eastern coast of the Isle of Zealand; the site is flat, and rather marshy. It formerly belonged to the bishop of Roskild, and, was not distinguished by the royal residence

* Hic Amlethi exitus fuit; qui si parem naturæ atque fortunæ indulgentiam expertus fuisset, æquasset fulgore superos; Herculeæ virtutibus opera transcendisset.

residence until 1443, during the reign of Christopher of Bavaria; since which period it has been gradually enlarged and beautified, and is become the capital of Denmark.

The annual list of births in Copenhagen being, upon an average of several years, estimated at 2830, and of deaths at 2955, we may compute that it contains near 80,000 inhabitants.

Copenhagen is the best built city of the north; for although Petersburgh excells it in superb edifices, yet, as it contains no wooden houses, it does not display that striking contrast of meanness and magnificence, but in general exhibits a more equable and uniform appearance. The town is surrounded towards the land with regular ramparts and bastions, a broad ditch full of water, and a few outworks: its circumference measures between four or five miles. The streets are well paved, with a foot-way on each side, but too narrow and inconvenient for general use. The greatest part of the buildings are of brick; and a few are of free-stone brought from Germany. The houses of the nobility are in general splendid, and constructed in the Italian style of architecture; the palace, which was erected by Christian VI. is a large pile of building; the front is of stone, and the wings of brick stuccoed: the suite of apartments is princely; and the external appearance is more grand than elegant.

The busy spirit of commerce is visible in Copenhagen. The haven is always crouded with merchant ships; and the streets are intersected

terfected by broad canals, which bring the merchandize close to the warehouses that line the quays. This city owes its principal beauty to a dreadful fire in 1728, that destroyed five churches and sixty-seven streets, which have been since rebuilt in the modern style.

The new part of the town, raised by the late king Frederick V. is extremely beautiful, scarcely inferior to Bath. It consists of an octagon, containing four uniform and elegant buildings of hewn stone, and of four broad streets leading to it in opposite directions. In the middle of the area stands an equestrian statue of Frederick V. in bronze, as big as life, which is justly admired. It was cast at the expence of the East India Company by Saly, and cost £80,000 sterling.

On the 25th of March we accompanied Mr. Delaval, our minister, to court, and were honoured with private audiences by his majesty Christian VII. the queen dowager Juliana-Maria, her son prince Frederick, and his consort the princess Sophia-Frederica. We were deprived of the honour of paying our respects to the prince royal, as he was at that time indisposed. During our stay at Copenhagen there were only two publick meetings at court: the company assembled about six o'clock in the evening. At one of these evenings was a concert, in which a Danish translation of Pergolesi's *Stabat Mater*, with the original musick, was performed. His majesty afterwards sat down to Loo with the queen dowager, prince Frederick, prin-

cess Sophia, count Bernsdorff the prime minister, and the Prussian ambassador.

As our stay at Copenhagen was very short, and principally during passion-week, which the natives observe with great strictness, we had not many opportunities of experiencing the hospitality of the Danish nobility, though they were much inclined to honour us with all those marks of attention and civility which are usually paid to strangers. Amongst other instances of politeness, we received an invitation to an assembly and supper from count Molck, who was favourite and prime minister to the late king Frederick V. The count's house, which stands in the octagon, is a magnificent building superbly furnished. He possesses several fine pictures; amongst which I chiefly admired a painting by Nicholas Poussin, two excellent Vanderwerfs, and a Teniers. His collection of fossils, shells, minerals, and petrefactions, deserves the notice of the naturalist: it is particularly rich in native productions of Denmark; and exhibits many fine specimens of the gold, silver, and copper mines, from Norway; and of lava from Mount Hecla in Iceland.

Among the most curious collections in Copenhagen, the Royal Museum, or Cabinet of Rarities, merits the first place. This collection, which was begun by Frederick III. is deposited in eight apartments, and ranged in the following order: animals; shells; minerals; paintings; antiquities; medals; dresses; arms and implements of the Laplanders. The short time which I employed in examining

examining these apartments did not permit me to take a minute and accurate account of the principal curiosities, which the reader will find described in *Museum Regium Jacobæi*.

Part of Copenhagen, which is called Christianshafen, is built upon the isle of Amak, which generally attracts the curiosity of foreigners.

Amak is about four miles long, and two broad; and is chiefly peopled by the descendants of a colony from East Friesland, to whom the island was consigned by Christian II. at the request of his wife Elizabeth, sister of Charles V. for the purpose of supplying her with vegetables, cheese, and butter. From the intermarriages of these colonies with the Danes, the present inhabitants are chiefly descended; but as they wear their own dress, and enjoy peculiar privileges, they appear a distinct race from the natives. The island contains about six villages, and between 3 and 4000 souls. It has two churches, in which the ministers preach occasionally in Dutch and Danish. The inhabitants have their own inferior tribunals; but in capital offences are amenable to the king's court of justice at Copenhagen. The old national habit, brought by the original colony when they first migrated to the island, is still in use amongst them. It resembles the habit of the antient quakers, as represented in the pictures of the Dutch and Flemish painters. The men wear broad-brimmed hats, black jackets, full glazed breeches of the same colour, loose

at the knee, and tied round the waist. The women were dressed chiefly in black jackets and petticoats, with a piece of blue glazed cloth bound on their heads. The island is laid out in gardens and pastures; and still, according to the original design, supplies Copenhagen with milk, butter, and vegetables.

C H A P. II.

Form of government antiently established in Denmark.—Causes and events which preceded and effected the revolution of 1660.—Change of the constitution from an elective and limited, to an hereditary and absolute, monarchy.

UNTIL the middle of the last century the crown of Denmark was elective; the supreme legislative authority resided in the three estates of the realm, the nobles, clergy, and commons, assembled in a diet by means of their representatives; and the executive power was vested in the king, and senate composed of the principal nobles.

The king was little more than president of the senate, and commander of the army; the regal prerogative being circumscribed by a capitulation or charter of privileges, which the sovereign signed at his accession.

Although

Although the crown was always continued in the same family, and uniformly conferred upon the eldest son, yet the new prince was constrained to purchase his succession to the throne by the grant of farther immunities.

Such was the state of affairs until the singular revolution of 1660 established, almost without the concurrence of the sovereign, an hereditary and absolute monarchy; exhibiting an instance, which stands unparalleled in the annals of history, of a people, who spontaneously renounced their freedom, and invested their limited governor with the most unbounded authority. The incidents and circumstances which occasioned so surprizing a revolution are too important to be passed over in silence.

Frederick III. who, upon the death of his father Christian IV. ascended the throne by the free election of the states, signed a charter of rights, consisting of 54 articles; among which several new privileges were confirmed to the senate, whereby they were enabled to engross nearly to themselves the whole administration of affairs. Frederick possessed in the ordinary occurrences of life a mild and equable temper of mind, acquiescing in every event with perfect composure, and apparently indifferent to ambition or glory. If his dominions had not been invaded by a powerful rival, he would have scarcely been noticed by his contemporaries. But, as during his reign the very being of Denmark, as a kingdom, was at stake, and he was called to action by the most imminent danger which a sovereign could

could experience, he suddenly surmounted his natural coldness; his mind acquired unusual vigour; and he exhibited proofs of courage, prudence, and perseverance, not inferior to the most consummate heroes of his time. These circumstances served to place his character in an exalted point of view; while, at the same time, his gentleness and moderation prevented the umbrage which is apt to be conceived by a free people against their sovereign. Thus, from being thought incapable of any interested designs, and yet equal to the task of carrying the most adventurous into execution, he became, from the accidental situation of his affairs, the innocent instrument of accomplishing an important revolution, which totally changed the form of the Danish government.

When Charles Gustavus of Sweden broke the treaty of Roskild, which he had just signed, and in 1658 appeared suddenly before Copenhagen at the head of a powerful army, he esteemed himself so secure of success, that he made a present of Zealand to admiral Wrangel; nay, he even publicly boasted, that he would unite the three crowns of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, in his own person; and would then march, like another Alaric, into Italy at the head of the Gothick nations. The internal weakness and civil commotion of Denmark seemed almost to justify these proud vaunts: the fate of the whole kingdom depended on the safety of Copenhagen; and yet, such was the deplorable condition of that capital, that Frederick was advised to retire from a place which seemed absolutely

solutely untenable, and to make his escape either to Holland or Norway. For the fortifications had long been neglected; it contained a garrison of only a thousand regular troops; had not sufficient provisions to stand a siege; was almost destitute of every means of resistance; and crowded with inhabitants and fugitives of all ranks. But that monarchy of whose military capacity no expectation could be formed, roused by this dangerous crisis of affairs, discovered at once the most undaunted courage: he declared his resolution of defending his capital to the last extremity; and, rather than be a witness to its surrender, of burying himself under its ruins. His conduct during the siege answered these professions; he gave his orders with calmness and intrepidity; he was among the first in all places of danger; and among the last who retreated. His zeal was seconded by the undaunted spirit of his queen Sophia Amelia, princess of Brunswick Lunenburgh *, who, during the whole contest, was indefatigable in animating the besieged; she partook of their fatigues; rode night and day round the ramparts, and observed every occurrence with the vigilance of a centinel, and the coolness of a veteran. The presence and activity of both their sovereigns gave fresh vigour to the garrison and citizens of Copenhagen; they braved every danger, and even bound themselves by an oath, to perish rather than surrender the capital. Their zeal was still further raised by the policy

* Memoires de Terlon, p. 333.

licy of Frederick, who extorted from the nobles an increase of the citizens immunities; and passed an edict, signed by himself and the principal senators, permitting them to possess lands, and to enjoy all the rights of nobility. Thus animated and encouraged, the burghers formed themselves into companies, and vied with the regular soldiers in submitting to the rigour of military discipline. In a word, by their invincible spirit Copenhagen held out from the 8th of August, 1658, to the conclusion of the peace, on the 27th of May, 1660, when the Swedish army evacuated Zealand.

Upon the signature of this treaty a diet was summoned at Copenhagen to take into consideration the state of the kingdom, exhausted with debts, and desolated by the miseries of war. The imminent danger which had threatened the ruin of Denmark had no sooner subsided, than Frederick relapsed into his constitutional indolence; and seems, if we may judge from the most authentick accounts, to have had but a small share in the subsequent revolution: it appears, indeed, to have been as casual as it was sudden, the effect only of the imperious conduct of the nobles, of the jealousies and resentments of the other orders, and of the high opinion which the people had conceived of their king, to whom they justly imputed the preservation of Copenhagen, and the safety of the kingdom; while they attributed to the violence and factions of the nobles all the evils which they had lately experienced.

The

The diet, which was the last ever convened in Denmark, assembled at Copenhagen on the 8th of September, 1660. The nobles, instead of endeavouring to conciliate the other orders by a moderate conduct, increased the publick discontents by the most arrogant behaviour. The deputies of the clergy and commons united against them; and the citizens of Copenhagen, who having acquired great credit by the glorious defence of the capital formed a very considerable party, were highly disgusted with them for remonstrating against the immunities granted by the king during the siege. In this state and temper of the parties, when the necessary supplies were brought forwards, the nobles proposed an excise upon all articles of consumption*, and expressed themselves willing to submit to it, although their order was by law exempted from all taxes: they accompanied this offer with a remonstrance to the king, in which they endeavoured, not only to reclaim many obsolete privileges, but add fresh immunities, and to introduce many other regulations which tended to diminish the royal prerogative, and to check the rising influence of the two estates of the commons and clergy. The proposal of such a tax, and this imprudent remonstrance, excited great heats in the diet; the

* All the Danish historians agree in this circumstance, that the nobles offered to tax themselves; therefore Lord Moleworth is wrong, when he says, "the nobility, according to their usual practice, debated how the sums of money requisite might, with greatest ease and conveniency, be levied upon the commons, without the least intention of bearing any proportionable share themselves." Account of Denmark, p. 32. See Mallet. Hist. de Dannemarc III. p. 446.

the clergy and commons contended that the offer was insidious, as the nobles would only pay the excise during their residence in the towns, and refused submitting to it while they resided upon their estates. Upon this ground they objected to the tax itself in its present form; nor would admit it on any other condition than that it should be levied equally upon all ranks without any reserve or restriction. The nobles not only persisted in the plea of exemption, but even refused to be subject to it for more than three years, under the pretence that every impost was an infringement of their privileges. Being however intimidated by the decisive refusal of the other deputies, they shifted their ground, proposed new duties upon stamped paper and leather; and offered, instead of the excise upon consumption, to pay a poll-tax for their peasants. The clergy and commons at first approved these additional imposts, but afterwards retracted, under pretence that they would not produce a sum adequate to the wants of the nation. It is not certain from what cause this alteration of their sentiments was derived*; whether the taxes would really have been inadequate, or were to be granted for too short a time; or whether, urged by other motives, they were secretly desirous of obtaining more essential and durable advantages against the nobles. Probably all these motives operated upon different persons; but the latter especially seems to have had great influence, be-
cause,

cause, in lieu of the above-mentioned duties, the deputies proposed that the royal fiefs and domains, which the nobles had exclusively possessed at a very moderate rent, should be farmed to the highest bidders. This proposition irritated the nobles, who justly deemed it an infraction of their dearest privileges; as, by the 46th article of the coronation oath taken by Frederick, the possession of the royal fiefs was guarantied to their order. In the heat of the contest upon this article, one of the chief senators imprudently threw out reproachful expressions against the commons, which raised such a general ferment in the assembly, that the deputies of the clergy and commons broke up the meeting.

In this struggle the friends of the court began to interpose. It was easily seen that the deputies were so disgusted with the nobles, that they would cheerfully embrace that occasion of humbling the whole order; and no way seemed more likely to ensure success than rendering the crown hereditary, and exalting the regal prerogative upon the ruin of the nobility. They never could expect that so favourable an opportunity should again occur; the diet was assembled in a fortified town; the citizens were still in arms, and all of them, as well as the garrison, were devoted to the king.

It is scarcely possible to trace, at this distance of time, all the secret springs which actuated the deputies upon this extraordinary occasion. It only appears, from good authority, that the two persons who had the principal

cial share in the revolution were the creatures of the court; and had, previous to the meeting of the diet, preconcerted something of a general plan of lowering the nobility with a confidential * servant of the crown. These persons were Svane, bishop of Zealand and president of the order of the clergy, and Nansen, burgomaster of Copenhagen and speaker of the commons: we have no reason however to conclude that they intended to proceed further than to humble the aristocratical party, and to make some necessary changes in the constitution; but the obstinacy of the nobles enlarged their views, and induced the deputies, not only to think of rendering the crown hereditary, but of vesting the whole power in the hands of the king. While the design was in agitation, Frederick felt, or affected to feel, an almost total indifference to the event; and though he expressed himself inclined to accept the offer of an hereditary succession, if it could be obtained by the unanimous consent of all the estates, yet he refused to take any active part in the whole proceeding. The queen endeavoured to rouse him from this supineness; but her influence, which had never before been exerted in vain, proved now ineffectual: being not inclined, however, to follow his example, she caballed with the leaders of the clergy and commons; and displayed that spirit of intrigue and daring enterprize, which had so long marked her character

* Molesworth says, with Hannibal Sehested, and Holberg with Gabel the king's favourite. Probably they were both in the right, as it is easy to suppose that both were consulted on the occasion.

character in contrast with the mild and passive acquiescence of the king.

Upon the secession of the deputies, which the obstinacy of the nobles had provoked, the hint of rendering the crown hereditary was first suggested by the bishop of Zealand; and when several partizans were gained, a numerous meeting was held at his palace, on the 6th of October, in which the scheme was laid open and approved. The act for declaring the crown hereditary was drawn up, and the best method of publickly producing it was taken into consideration. The mode of proceeding was now concerted between the chiefs of the party and Gabel the favourite of the king, who held a separate conference with the bishop and Nansen that very afternoon. The whole night and the following day repeated messages passed between some of the deputies and the emissaries of the queen, as the king still continued neutral, and could not be prevailed upon to take any active share in an event which so nearly concerned him.

On the morning of the 8th of October*, the bishop of Zealand, having obtained the consent and signature of the ecclesiastical deputies to the declaration of hereditary succession, delivered it to Nansen. The latter, in a most persuasive speech, expatiated upon the wretched state of the kingdom, the oppressive power of the nobles, and the virtues of the king; and concluded with exhorting

horting the commons to subscribe the act as the only means of saving their country. Having first signed it himself, his example was followed by each deputy, without one dissenting voice.

During these intrigues the nobles remained in full security, and without the least suspicion; as the commons had, the same day in which they signed the declaration, debated upon the taxes, and drawn up a remonstrance against the nobles, without any allusion to the more secret transaction.

On the 9th this remonstrance was presented in form to Frederick by the bishop and Nansen; and as they were returning from the palace, they had a violent altercation with the same chief senator who had before offended the commons, and who then threatened them with imprisonment for presuming to approach the king without acquainting the order of nobles. This threat served only to fix them the more firmly in their resolution; and the single circumstance which now remained was, to consult upon the surest means of extorting the assent of the nobles.

Rumours of this project had by this time reached them; but they had scarcely assembled to consider the most efficacious methods of rendering it ineffectual*, before the deputies of the clergy and burghers entered the hall, and, having taken their seats, Nansen, after a short speech, delivered to them the
 decla-

* Probably on the 10th of October, as Mallet conjectures.

declaration for rendering the crown hereditary in his majesty's family.

The nobles, although they were in some degree apprized that such a measure was intended, were nevertheless thrown into a general consternation by its being communicated to them in so sudden and decisive a manner. Conceiving it, however, imprudent in their present situation to negative the proposal, they endeavoured to gain time, and replied accordingly, that though they willingly gave their assent to the declaration, yet that, as it was a matter of great consequence, it deserved the^s most mature discussion. Nansen, perceiving the drift of this delay, answered, that they came not to deliberate, but to act : they had already taken their resolution ; they would lose no time in debate ; if the nobles refused to concur with them, they would themselves repair immediately to the palace, not doubting but the king would graciously accept their proffered declaration. While this was passing in publick, the nobles had secretly dispatched a message to the king, that they were willing to render the crown hereditary in the male line of his issue, provided it was done with all accustomed formalities ; a proposal his majesty rejected as a circumstance not desirable, unless the right of succession was extended to the females also ; adding, with great appearance of moderation, that he by no means wished to prescribe rules for their conduct ; they were to follow the dictates of their own judgment ; as, for his part, he would owe every thing to their free consent,

consent, but that he could not accept the offer with the limitation proposed.

The nobles who were waiting with anxiety for the return of their messenger, kept the business in suspense by declining their direct assent to the declaration, and proposing a further consideration of the subject; upon this, the other deputies, apprehensive of their secret cabals, and still further exasperated against them for their obstinate refusal of concurrence, quitted the assembly, and repaired in solemn procession to the court, leaving the nobles in a state of irresolution and distraction, more easily conceived than related.

The deputies being admitted to the king, the bishop of Zealand addressed his majesty on the resolution taken by the clergy and commons, offering, in their name, to render the crown hereditary, and to invest him with absolute authority; adding, that they were ready to sacrifice their lives in defence of an establishment so salutary to their country. The king, in his answer, thanked them for their favourable intentions: but mentioned the approbation of the nobles as a necessary condition, though he had no doubt of their concurrence when they should have had time to accompany the declaration with all the necessary formalities; he assured them of his protection, promised a redress of all grievances, and dismissed them with an exhortation to continue their sittings, until they should have brought their design to perfection, and he could receive their voluntary submission with all due solemnity.

The

The reader will observe, with much surprise, that in all the publick occurrences previous to this audience, the only affair apparently in agitation, was to change the form of government from an elective to an hereditary monarchy; no mention had been made of enlarging the powers of the crown, or of the still more extraordinary scheme of making the king absolute. It is probable, if the nobles had immediately consented to the declaration, that this cession might not have taken place? Was there not a medium between hereditary right and arbitrary power! or can we suppose, that, according to the system of the Danish law, the latter was necessarily implied in the former? Something like this, probably, must have been the case, as it is hardly possible to conceive, that when the deputies of the commons and clergy had voted only for the declaration, the bishop of his own accord, should have added the gift of unlimited authority. It often happens that people are more affected by appearances than realities. The bare mention of arbitrary power would have revolted the deputies, while the substance, being included in the popular expression of hereditary right, was adopted and passed without reserve.

But to return to the nobles; when the deputies had abruptly quitted the assembly, they could not agree amongst themselves what plan was to be pursued in this alarming crisis. They were not, indeed, unanimous in their motives of opposition, being divided into three principal parties*: the first consisted

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of

* Holberg

of those who were devoted to the court, and favoured the declaration of the commons; the second, of those who were conscious that some change in the constitution was requisite, but uncertain how far they should proceed; the third, by far the most considerable in number, was composed of those who seemed determined to assert their own privileges to the last extremity, and who strenuously opposed the least alteration. It was no wonder, therefore, that they broke up without coming to any resolution, but put off their final determination to their next meeting in the afternoon.

While they were thus wavering and irresolute, the court and popular party took the necessary precautions in order to force them to a concurrence. It was feared that the enterprize might fail of success, if the nobles should resolve to quit Copenhagen, and to break up the diet, from the just pretence that it was held in a fortified town under awe of a garrison devoted to the court; and indeed several had already made their escape, and others seemed inclined to follow them.

In consequence of these apprehensions the king issued orders to shut the gates of the town; and this spirited measure had such an instant effect upon the nobles, that they abandoned all thoughts of further resistance, and dispatched deputies to the court, that they were ready to concur with the commons, and to subscribe to all the conditions of the royal pleasure*.

Accord-

* Holberg.

Accordingly, on the 16th of October, the estates annulled, in the most solemn manner, the capitulation, or charter, signed by the king at his accession, absolved him from all his engagements, and cancelled all the limitations imposed upon his sovereignty. The whole was finally closed by the publick ceremony of doing homage, and of taking the new oath, which was performed on the 18th. On that day several scaffolds were erected before the palace, adorned with scarlet cloth and tapestry, and furnished with rows of benches; on a platform, more elevated than the rest, were placed two chairs of state under a canopy of velvet for the king and queen, and these scaffolds communicated with the palace by an open gallery. At the appointed time, the citizens of Copenhagen, forming twelve companies were drawn up on each side of the gallery; the garrison surrounded the platform, and the avenues leading to it; while the regiment of guards secured the rear. At mid-day the king and queen, attended by the royal family, preceded by the nobles, and accompanied by the officers of state, repaired in solemn procession, amid drums and trumpets, to the platform; and when the nobles, the deputies of the clergy, and commons, had taken their places, &c, the chancellor proclaimed†:

“ Since it has pleased the Almighty, by the unanimous and voluntary resolution of the states, that
 “ this kingdom should be rendered hereditary in the
 “ person of his Majesty our Lord the King, and of

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† Mallet,

“ his posterity male and female ; his majesty, after
 “ thanking the states for this proof of their affec-
 “ tion and zeal, not only promises to all his good
 “ and faithful subjects to govern them as a christian
 “ and merciful prince ought to do ; but also to es-
 “ tablish a form of government, under which they
 “ shall be secure of enjoying the same advantages
 “ under his successors ; and as this unanimous reso-
 “ lution of the states requires a new oath of allegi-
 “ ance, his majesty discharges the states from all
 “ those oaths which they had formerly taken ; assur-
 “ ing each person in particular of his royal favour
 “ and protection”. After which all persons who
 were present took the new oath of allegiance.

“ I A. B. do promise and declare, that I will be
 “ true and faithful to your majesty, as my most
 “ gracious king and lord, as also to your royal fa-
 “ mily ; that I will endeavour and promote your
 “ majesty’s interest in all things, and, to the best of
 “ my power, defend you from all danger and
 “ harm ; and that I will faithfully serve your majesty,
 “ as a man of honour and an hereditary subject
 “ ought to do. So help me God*,” &c.

The revolution being thus accomplished,
 a new form of government was promulgated,
 under the title of The Royal Law of Den-
 mark. It consists of 40 articles : the most
 remarkable whereof are the following†.

“ The hereditary kings of Denmark and Norway
 “ shall be in effect, and ought to be esteemed by
 “ their subjects, the only supreme head upon earth,
 “ they shall be above all human laws, and shall ac-
 “ knowledge, in all ecclesiastical and civil affairs,
 “ no higher power than God alone.

“ The king shall enjoy the right of making and
 “ interpreting the laws, of abrogating, adding to,
 “ and

* Molefworth.

† Lettres sur le Danemarck. Mallet.

“ and dispensing with them. He may also annul
 “ all the laws which either he or his predecessors
 “ shall have made, excepting this Royal Law,
 “ which must remain irrevocable, and be considered
 “ as the fundamental law of the state.

“ He has the power of declaring war, making
 “ peace, imposing taxes, and levying contributions
 “ of all sorts,” &c. &c.

Then follow the regulations for the order of succession, the regency in case of minority, the majority of the king, the maintenance of the royal family; and after having enumerated all the possible prerogatives of regal uncircumscribed authority, as if sufficient had not yet been laid down, it is added in the 26th article: “ All that we have hitherto said
 “ of power and eminence and sovereignty, and if
 “ there is any thing further which has not been expressly specified, shall all be comprized in the
 “ following words. The king of Denmark and
 “ Norway shall be the hereditary monarch, and
 “ endued with the highest authority, insomuch, that
 “ all that can be said and written to the advantage
 “ of a christian hereditary, and absolute king, shall
 “ be extended under the most favourable interpretation to the hereditary king or queen of Denmark
 “ and Norway,” &c. &c. *

Upon reviewing the principal circumstances which led to this revolution, we cannot but remark, that the nobles were the victims of their own imprudence and obstinacy. Had they yielded in due time, they might have secured many of their privileges; but as they did not comply until their concurrence was

The reader will find an abridged extract of the several articles in Molesworth, p. 186; and a French translation in *Lettres sur le Danemarck*, p. 118, which translation is also inserted in Mallet's *Hist. de Danemarck*, Vol. III. p. 475.

scarcely necessary, they could not command any compensation for what they could not keep, and surrendered with the most evident reluctance: the deputies of the clergy and of the towns were hurried away by their resentment against that order, whose tyranny they had long experienced, and whose future ascendancy they dreaded; and they were so warmly animated by their admiration of the king, that they thought no sacrifice too great which could assure him of their confidence, and testify their gratitude. Strange infatuation, that they should discover no means of humbling their oppressors, and securing their own immunities, without the establishment of an absolute government! Might they not have loosened the king's shackles without tearing them off! The reserve of the legislative power and right of taxation in the three estates, would sufficiently have secured the freedom of the people, as well against the encroachments of the crown as the insolence of a proud nobility.

But the voice of reason is seldom heard amid the tumult of public animosities, and the uproar of faction. Self-interested and designing persons, who have previously settled their end, and the mode of pursuing it, take advantage of every casual incident: and the generality are blindly led away by their passions to effect what they ever afterwards regret.

"Thus this great affair," concludes Lord Moleworth, "was finished, and the kingdom of Denmark, in four days time, changed,

“ changed, from an estate little differing from
 “ aristocracy, to as absolute a monarchy as
 “ any is at present in the world.” But these
 expressions have been considered as too
 strong by several of the native historians ;
 and even one of our own countrymen*, who
 wrote against his account of Denmark by
 desire of the Danish minister, has contradicted
 his conclusion ; because Frederick III. did
 not abuse his power, and because he confirmed
 the privileges to the different orders. But
 surely when the sovereign, according to the
 expressions of the royal law, is declared “ in-
 “ dependent upon earth, acknowledging no
 “ higher power than God ; when he has an
 “ unlimited authority to make, alter, re-
 “ peal, and dispense with laws ; when he
 “ alone can make peace and declare war,
 “ form alliances and levy taxes ; when, in a
 “ word, he enjoys all the rights and preroga-
 “ tives which an hereditary, absolute, despo-
 “ tick king can enjoy ;” what signify privi-
 leges which he can annul at pleasure ? of
 what force are laws which he can repeal with
 a word ? Allowing, what is true, that the
 kings of Denmark have seldom abused their
 authority ; and without pretending to deny
 that the tyranny of the nobles had risen to
 an excessive height, we surely may con-
 clude, that it would have been happier for
 the kingdom, if the power of the crown
 had been due in some degree limited, while the
 rights

* King's Animadversions on a pretended Account of Den-
 mark, in which the author animadverts upon several misre-
 presentations of Lord Molesworth's.

rights of the nobles had been qualified, not abolished; and the people continued subjects of a limited monarchy, not enslaved to arbitrary will and dominion.

C H A P. III.

I. Remarks on the population.—II. Finances.—III. Army.—IV. Navy.—V. Church establishment in Denmark.

THE following table exhibits the population in the Danish dominions.

		No. of Inhabitants.	
Denmark.	{ Diocese of Zealand, including the isles of Zealand, Moen, and Bornholm —	Islands.	283,466
	{ Diocese of Funen, including the isles of Funen, Langeland, Lolland, and Falster —		143,988
	{ Diocese of Aarhus —	Jutland —	117,942
	{ Ditto Riber —		99,923
	{ Ditto Aalborg —		80,872
	{ Ditto Viborg —		59,399
	{ Isles of Feroe —	—	4,754
Norway	{ Diocese of Agerhuus —		215,042
	{ Ditto Christiansand —		113,024
	{ Ditto Berghen —		130,352
	{ Ditto Drontheim —		164,722
Iceland.	{ Diocese of Scalholt —		34,216
	{ Ditto Holm —		11,985
			46,201
Dutchy of Sleswick —			243,605
Dutchy of Holstein belonging to the king —			134,665
Dutchy of Glucksburgh —			10,072
District of Kiel —			75,000

Number of Souls in the Danish dominions 2,023,028

II. Finances.

II. Finances.—The revenues of Denmark are principally derived from the customs, duties upon exports and imports, excise on provisions and liquors, poll tax*, tax on ranks, on places, pensions, and perquisites, on marriages†, land tax, quit rents from the royal demesnes, licences on publick houses, privilege of distilling spirits, for leave to hunt and shoot in the royal manors, leases on farms and saw-mills, profits of the mines, stamped paper, duty on snuff, on cards, &c. &c.

Busching, who, as I am informed from persons well versed in this subject, has given a very accurate account of the Danish finances for the year 1769, informs us, that the gross receipt, amounted to £1,252,454. The expences, of which he has also laid down an exact detail, are rated at £936,130; of which sum the army estimates came to £350,000;

and

* The poll-tax takes place only in Denmark: it was at first laid upon the inhabitants of Norway, but has been since abolished, and another impost substituted in its room; the peasants, who are all free in that kingdom, having considered it as a badge of slavery. The towns of Altona and Bornholm are also exempted from it, upon the payment of annual compensation.

† The tax upon marriages, as I am informed, has been abolished since my departure from Denmark; a tax which no wise legislature will ever think of imposing; and if imposed by inadvertence, would take the first opportunity of repealing, as highly detrimental to the real interests of the community. This tax was as equitably laid on in Denmark as so injudicious an impost was capable of being distributed, the peasants and lower class of people being exempted from the payment of it. —“*La portion la plus nombreuse,*” says the author of *Les Lettres sur le Dannemarc*; “*et la plus pauvre de la société les*”
 “*paylans, les matelots, et les soldats, n’y sont pas assujettis:*”
 “*mais si le mariage doit être encouragé par toutes les voies*”
 “*possibles, à plus forte raison mérite-t-il d’être libre de toute*”
 “*charge. Celle qui se paye ici est si modique, qu’elle ne forme*”
 “*pas un grand obstacle à la population.*” p. 165.

and those of the navy to £180,000. The debts, in 1771, were only £3,418,009; the interest of which was discharged by an annual payment of £131,392; which must be added to the yearly expenditure †.

III. The army of Denmark is composed, 1. of the troops of Denmark and Holstein; and, 2. of Norway.

1. The forces of Denmark and Holstein are divided into 1. Regulars; 2. National or militia. These forces (the foot and horse guards excepted, who are all regulars) are not separated, as in our army, into distinct regiments, but are formed in the following manner.

To begin with the infantry. Before the late augmentation, every regiment, when complete, consisted of 26 officers, and 1632 privates, divided into 10 companies of fusiliers, and two of grenadiers. Of these 1632 privates, 480, who are chiefly foreigners enlisted in Germany, are regulars. The remaining 1152 are the national militia, or peasants, who reside upon the estates of their landholders, each estate furnishing a certain number in proportion to its value.

These national troops are occasionally exercised in small corps upon Sundays and holidays; and are embodied once every year, for about 17 days, in their respective districts.

By a late addition of 10 men to each company, a regiment of infantry is increased to 1778 troops including officers. The expence of each regiment, which before amounted to

£6000,

† For further particulars see Bus. Hist. Mag. XIV. p. 1092. and Erd-bef. Vol. I. p. 143.

£6000, has been raised by the late augmentation to £8000.

The cavalry is upon the same footing; each regiment consisting of 17 officers, including serjeants and corporals, and 565 privates, divided into five squadrons. Of these about 260 are regular, and the remainder national troops.

The regiments of foot and horse guards are regulars; the former is composed of 21 officers and 465 men in five companies; and the latter of 7 officers and 154 men in two squadrons.

2. The forces of Norway are all national troops or militia, excepting the two regiments of Sundenfield and Nordenfield. And as the peasants of that kingdom are free, the forces are levied in a different manner from those of Denmark. Norway is divided into a certain number of districts, each whereof furnishes a soldier. All the peasants are, upon their birth, registered for the militia; and the first on the list supplies the vacancy for the district to which he belongs. After having served from ten to fourteen years, they are admitted among the invalids; and when they have attained the seniority of that corps, receive their dismissal. These troops are not continually under arms, but are only occasionally exercised, like the national forces of Denmark. A fixed stipend is assigned to the officers, nearly equal to that of the officers in the regulars: but the common soldiers do not receive any pay, except when they are in actual service, or performing their annual manœuvres.

The

The Academy of Land-Cadets, instituted by Frederick IV. supplies the army with officers. According to this foundation, 74 cadets are instructed in the military sciences at the expence of the king.

List of the Danish Army.

Infantry.—Danish and Holstein.—Regulars and Militia.

Foot guards, reg.	486
Danish royal regiment, mixt	1778
Norway ditto, mixt	1778
King's ditto, mixt	1778
Queen's ditto, mixt	1778
Prince Royal's ditto, mixt	1778
Prince Frederick's ditto, mixt	1778
Jutland ditto, mixt	1778
Oldenburg ditto, mixt	1778
Bornholm ditto, mixt	1778
Sleswick ditto, mixt	1778
Holstein ditto, mixt	1778
Falster ditto, mixt	1778
Moen ditto, mixt	1778
Delmenhorst's ditto, mixt	1778
Total of Danish and Hol-	} 25378
stein Infantry	

Infantry

Infantry of Norway.

Regiment of Sundenfield, reg.	1376
Ditto of Nordenfield, reg.	1376
First reg. of Agerhuus, national	1956
Second ditto, nat.	1956
First ditto Smaalchen, nat.	1800
Second ditto, nat.	2082
First ditto Drontheim, nat.	2082
Second ditto, nat.	1916
Third ditto, nat.	2089
First ditto Oplande, nat.	2075
Second ditto, nat.	1916
First ditto of Bergenhuus, nat.	1916
Second ditto, nat.	1916
First ditto Verterbeck, nat.	1916
Second ditto, nat.	1916
Corps of light troops, nat.	1960
Regiment of artillery, mixt	2771
Corps of engineers, reg.	34

Total of Infantry of Norway 31053

Cavalry Danish and Holstein.

Horse guards, regulars	161
Royal Danish regiment, mixt	582
Norway ditto, mixt	582
First regiment of Zealand, mixt	582
Second ditto, mixt	582
Of Jutland, mixt	582
Funen, mixt	582
Sleswick, mixt	582
Holstein, mixt	582

Cavalry

Cavalry of Norway.

First regiment of dragoons, nat.	1168
First ditto of Sundenfield, nat.	1168
Second ditto, national	1167
Third ditto, nat.	1079
Regiment of Nordenfield, nat.	1079
Total of Cavalry	10478
Total of Infantry	56431
Total of the Danish troops	66909

IV. Navy. From their insular situation the Danes have always excelled as a maritime people. In the earlier ages, when piracy was an honourable profession, they were a race of pirates, and issued from the Baltick to the conquests of England and Normandy. And though, since the improvement of navigation by the invention of the compass, other nations have risen to a greater degree of naval eminence, still, however, the Danes, as they inhabit a cluster of islands, and possess a large tract of sea-coast, are well versed in maritime affairs, and are certainly the most numerous, as well as the most experienced, sailors of the North. During my stay at Copenhagen I visited the dock, and inspected, with great attention, the fleet at anchor in the harbour. The following result of my enquiries, upon the state of the Danish navy, is here laid before the reader,

The

The expence of building the hulk amounts to £200 per gun, and to £1000 when the vessel is completely rigged, and ready to sail, with four month's provisions. The greatest part of the oak is procured from Germany by contract with the king of Prussia*.

All the cannon, shot, anchors, and iron work, are cast in Norway. The Danes procure flax, hemp, and masts from Russia, and pitch and tar from Sweden: they have manufactures of cordage and sails, but not sufficient for the use of the fleet: the overplus is obtained from Russia and Holland.

The greatest part of the Danish navy is stationed in the harbour of Copenhagen, which lies within the fortifications: the depth of water being only 20 feet, the ships have not their lower tier of guns on board, but take them in when they get out of port. Beside large magazines, each vessel has a separate store-house, on the water's edge, opposite to which she is moored when in harbour, and may by this means be instantly equipped.

The number of registered seamen are near 40,000, and are divided into two classes; the first comprizes those inhabiting the coasts, who are allowed to engage in the service of merchant-ships trading to any part of the world, Each receives 8s. annually from the crown as long as he sends a certificate of his being alive; but is subject to a recall in case of war. The second comprehends the fixed sailors, who are constantly in the employ of the crown, and
amount

* Holstein produces oaks, but not a sufficient quantity; and they are preserved in case of extreme necessity.

amount to about 4000, ranged under four divisions, or forty companies: they are stationed at Copenhagen for the ordinary service of the navy; and work in the dock-yard. Each of them, when not at sea, receives 8s. per month, beside a sufficient quantity of flour and other provisions; every two years a complete suit of clothes; and every year breeches, stockings, shoes, and a cap. Some of them are lodged in barracks. When they sail their pay is augmented to 20s. per month. The marine artillery consists of 800 men, in four divisions.

List of the Danish Navy in 1779.

SHIPS OF THE LINE.

	Names.	Guns.	Station.	When built.
1	Christian VII.	90	Copenhagen	1767.
2	Superb	80	Ditto	1768.
3	Sophia-Frédérica	74	Ditto	1775.
4	Justitia	74	Ditto	1777.
5	Vandal	70	Ditto	1742. For parade
6	Queen Louisa	70	Ditto	1744.
7	Copenhagen	70	Ditto	1744. Condemned
8	Queen Juliana	70	Ditto	1752. Ditto
9	Prince Royal	70	Ditto	1756.
10	Denmark	70	Ditto	1757.
11	Jutland	70	North Sea	1760.
12	Prince Frederick	70	Copenhagen	1761.
13	Oere-Sund	70	Ditto	1766.
14	Northern Lion	70	Ditto	1765.
15	Elephant	70	Ditto	1769.
16	Oldenburg	60	Ditto	1740. Condemned
17	North Star	60	Ditto	1746. For parade
18	Zealand	60	Ditto	1750. Ditto
19	Neptune	60	Ditto	1750. Ditto
20	Storman	60	Ditto	1751. Ditto
21	Iceland	60	Ditto	1751. Ditto
22	Victory	60	Ditto	1754.
23	Princess Sophia Magdalena	60	Ditto	1763.
24	Princ. Wilhelmino	60	Ditto	1764.
25	Dahebrog	60	Ditto	1772.
26	Hollstein	60	Ditto	1772.
27	Wagria	60	Ditto	1773.
28	Infoeds Retten	60	Ditto	1776.
29	Ditmarssen	50	Ditto	1742. Condemned
30	Delmenhurst	50	Ditto	1743. Ditto
31	Ebenezer	50	North Sea	1758.
32	Nettleblad	50	Copenhagen	1746. Condemned
33	Funen	50	Ditto	1746. Parade
34	Greenland	50	North Sea	1756.
35	Sainte Croix	50	Ditto	1758.
36	Mars	50	Copenhagen	1760.
37	Sleswick	50	Ditto	1766.
38	Disco	44	Ditto	1778.

F R I G A T E S.

	Names.	Guns.	Station.	When built.
1	Pearl	34	Copenhagen	1772.
2	Kiel	36	Ditto	1775.
3	Bornholm	36	Ditto	1774.
4	Moen	36	Ditto	1777.
5	Croneborg	34	Ditto	1776.
6	Christiania	34	Ditto	
7	Deckin	24	Ditto	1750. Parade
8	Moen	28		1752.
9	Blue Eagle	30		1753. Parade
10	Savage	18		1754. Parade
11	Christianborg	34	North Sea	1758.
12	Sea Horse	18	Copenhagen	1758.
13	Langeland	18	Ditto	1758.
14	Falster	30	Ditto	1760.
15	Syren		Ditto	
16	Tranquebar	34	Ditto	1761.
17	Alsen		Ditto	
18	Christiania	30	Ditto	1766.
19	Feroe	34	Ditto	1766.
20	Sanroe	22	Ditto	1770.
		Swivels.		
	Eagle Royal	} 26	Copenhagen	1756.
	Yatch			

Bomb Ketches.—Bravery ; Serious ; Comet ; Courage ; Dragon.

Recapitulation: 38 ships of the line, including 9 of fifty guns and one of 44, and 20 frigates; but if we except those which are condemned, and those which are allotted only for parade, we cannot estimate that, in 1779, the fleet consisted of more than 25 ships of the line, and 15 frigates fit for service; a number, however, fully adequate to the situation of Denmark; and, if we include the excellence of the sailors, it must be esteemed as complete a navy as any in the North.

A ship of 90 guns, with its full complement, carries 850 men; of 70 guns 700; of 64 guns

64 guns 600; of 50 guns 450; and a frigate of 36 guns 250. Most part of the fleet is generally moored at Copenhagen, except four or five ships of the line in the ports of Norway; a frigate stationed off Elsinoor; another lying off the isle of Funen; and a smaller vessel upon the Elbe; beside a frigate or two which annually make a cruize.

The year 1779 being celebrated for the rise of the armed neutrality, the northern powers sent out naval armaments: that of Denmark, which was fitting out in the spring of that year, consisted of ten ships of the line, four frigates, and two sloops of 20 guns; and the expence of the equipment was chiefly supplied by an additional duty of one per cent laid upon all imports, and half per cent upon exports. For the manning of this fleet 1000 fixed sailors were selected, 3500 registered from the country, and 1000 marines.

The chief nursery* for the officers of the navy is the Academy of Marine Cadets, instituted by Frederick IV. in 1701. The foundation is for 60 cadets, who are maintained and instructed in the theory of navigation at the expence of the crown. Every year they make a cruise on board of a frigate. Beside the original number, other youths are admitted into this academy, under the name of volunteers, at their own expence.

V. The established religion of Denmark is the Lutheran. The hierarchy, consists of 12 bishops, or superintendants; six in
B b 2 Denmark,

* Letters sur le Dannemarc, p. 10.

Denmark, four in Norway, and two in Iceland. There is no archbishop; but the bishop of Zealand, who is first in rank, and the bishop of Aggerhuus, are metropolitans.

The annual revenues of the sees are as follow. In Denmark: Zealand £1000; Funen £760; Aarhus £600; Aalborg £400; and Ripan £400. In Norway: Christiana, or Aggerhuus, £400; Christiansand £600; Bergen £400; and Drontheim £400. In Iceland: Skalbolt £150; and Holun £150. These two last bishopricks, although far inferior in nominal value to the former, are, if we take into consideration the cheap manner of living in Iceland, perhaps, equal in real profits to the largest of the others.

The other clergy are provosts or archdeacons, parish-priests, and chaplains. Each diocese is divided into a certain number of districts, over which the provosts have the inspection, and each district into parishes. A large parish, beside the principal church, has one or more additional chapels of ease. The parish-priests receive their salaries principally in glebe, tithes, and surplice fees; and in some places from the voluntary contributions of their parishioners. The profits vary in the different parts according to the cheapness of provisions and other incidental circumstances. In Denmark the livings seldom exceed £400, or fall short of £60 per annum, Jutland excepted, in which peninsula there are a few scarcely worth £20. In Norway the highest may be rated at £200, and the lowest at £60. In Iceland some parishes scarcely bring in £3 or £4 a year. A clergyman's

gyman's widow usually receives the whole profit of her husband's cure for the year immediately following his decease; and a pension from his successor, amounting to the eighth of the annual income.

C H A P. IV.

University of Copenhagen.—Royal Academy of Sciences.—Royal Society for the improvement of Northern history and languages.—Latin schools in the Danish dominions.—Researches into the origin and progress of Icelandick literature.—Flora Danica.—Oeder and Muller.—Regenfuss on shells, &c. &c.

COPENHAGEN contains, among other literary institutions, an University, and an Academy of Sciences. The former was founded, in 1479, by Christian I. and has since been augmented and amply endowed by his successors; amongst whom Christian VI. was its greatest benefactor. Under that monarch the university was newly modelled, and several regulations established, which were calculated for the encouragement and diffusion of general learning. It has a very considerable fund; the professors have liberal salaries; and many students are instructed gratis.

The

The Royal Academy of Sciences* owes its institution to the zeal of six literati, whom Christian VI. in 1742, ordered to arrange his cabinet of medals. These persons occasionally meeting for that purpose, extended their designs; associated with them others who were eminent in several branches of science; and forming a kind of literary society, employed themselves in searching into, and explaining the history and antiquities of their country. The count of Holstein warmly patronized this society, and recommended it so strongly to Christian VI. that, in 1743, his Danish majesty took it under his protection, called it the Royal Academy of Sciences, endowed it with a fund, and ordered the members to join to their former pursuits, natural history, physics, and mathematics. In consequence of the royal favour, the members engaged with fresh zeal in their pursuits; and the academy has published 15 volumes of transactions in the Danish language, some whereof have been translated into Latin.

About the same period a society for the improvement of northern history and languages was instituted by a few persons, at the head of whom was Langebek, who has since greatly distinguished himself for his historical publications. These persons contributed to a col-

* *Lettres sur le Dannemarc*, Vol. II. p. 53. The count of Holstein was the first president; and the six persons who first formed the design, were John Gram, Joachim Frederick Ramus, Christian Louis Scheid, Marc Woldikey, Eric Pontopidan, and Bernhard Moelman. See *Scripta a Soc. Haf. Edita*. V. I.

a collection of manuscripts, books, coins, and other literary curiosities; and even advanced a sum of money to support the expence of their establishment. Many new members being admitted, Christian VI. with his usual zeal for letters, constituted it, in 1746, a Royal Society, and assigned an apartment in the palace of Charlottenburgh for the place of meeting. This society has proved itself not unworthy of the royal protection, having put forth several publications, containing historical details, titles, documents, diplomes, rare manuscripts and charts, which tend to throw light upon the annals of Denmark.

Beside the universities of Copenhagen and Kiel, there is an academy at Soroe, and two gymnasia at Odensee and Altona, and a seminary for Laplanders at Berghen in Norway. There are various Latin schools maintained at the expence of the crown: 19 in Denmark Proper, 4 in Norway, 11 in Schleswick, 16 in Holstein, and 2 in Iceland. The largest schools have a *rector*, or upper-master; a *corrector*, or lower-master; and two or three *collegæ scholæ*, or assistants; the smallest have only a *rector*. The Salaries of the masters vary from £60 to £200 a year.

Each parish also is provided with two or three schools for the Danish tongue; where children are instructed in reading, writing, and arithmetick. These country school-masters have in general a salary of about £12 per annum, a house, and a few other advantages.

I must

I must also mention two schools at Copenhagen for the children of the nobility and gentry, who are unable to bear the expence of a proper education. One is for boys, and the other for females. That for boys is under the direction of professor Treschow, chaplain of the garrison-church at Copenhagen, a gentleman of considerable erudition, who, considering it as an act of charity, receives no recompence for his trouble. An inspector has £60 per annum. The day-scholars pay only £6 a year, and the boarders £20: they learn history, geography, and arithmetick; are instructed in the articles of their religion; and have masters for the German, French, and English languages.

In general the Danish literati have particularly turned their researches upon the history and antiquities of the North; on which subjects many curious works have been already printed, and more are still preparing for publick inspection. Among those who have greatly distinguished themselves in this branch of learning, must be mentioned the names of Meursius, Holberg, Olaus Wormius, Pontopidan; and lately those of Langebek, Schoening*, and Suhm.

Among

* Langebek, who, among other learned publications, has put forth "*Scriptores Rerum Danicarum Medii Ævi*," printed at the king's expence, was a native of Jutland, and born in 1710; and, after a life devoted to the pursuits of learning, died about 1776.

Schoening, the learned editor of *Snorro Sturlensis Historia*, and many other interesting works, was born at Schatnæs in Norway, in 1722, and died in 1778. The curious reader, who is desirous of further information on this subject, will find

Among the performances lately put forth on these topicks, those in the Icelandick tongue deserve particular notice; as they tend to throw considerable light upon the antiquities, history, and mythology of the northern nations; Iceland being in the remote ages, while Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, were in a state of perpetual warfare, the sole refuge and repository of Northern literature. Upon observing such a number of Icelandick manuscripts as are contained in the Danish libraries, I was greatly astonished to find that Iceland, which was considered by the antients as the *Ultima Thule*, or the extremity of the world, and by us as scarcely habitable, abounded in learning and science, at a time when Europe was involved in darkness. I was anxious to make some inquiries on this subject, and the result of them is here communicated to the reader.

It does not appear from history at what time Iceland was first peopled; when it was occupied by a colony of Norwegians in the latter end of the 9th century, it contained but few inhabitants, who were supposed to have originally arrived there from England or Ireland, but whose number was inadequate to resist the invaders. Afterwards occasional emigrants landed at different parts from Norway, Sweden, and Denmark; and the original inhabitants

find an ample detail of the lives and writings of these two indefatigable antiquaries in the Prefaces to the 4th and 5th volumes of the *Scriptores Rerum Danicarum*, which publication is continued by Mr. Suhm, with the same diligence and accuracy that distinguished the judicious Langebek.

habitants were soon lost amid the swarm of the new settlers, who introduced the worship of Thor and Odin, and all the rites and customs which at that time prevailed among the nations of the neighbouring continent. Their language was the old Gothick or Teutonic, the vernacular tongue of the Swedes, Danes, and Norwegians, before it branched into the several dialects since spoken by the natives of those three kingdoms; and on account of their insular situation, it was preserved pure for a considerable time. Their alphabet was composed of the Runic characters, only sixteen in number; yet, it is to these Icelanders that we are indebted for almost all the historical monuments of the northern nations now remaining *. From them sprung the Scalds, those ancient bards who have transmitted, in their historical poems, the principal events which happened in these remote quarters of the world, from the arrival of Odin to the introduction of Christianity; a period of barbarism and ignorance, which, without their labours, had been totally unknown to posterity. Although these Scaldic odes blend occasionally historical events with improbable narratives, yet, as intelligent critics may separate facts from fable, and truth from fiction, and as they are the only sources of information relative to the early affairs of the North, they must

* Speaking of the Icelandick writings, the editor of *Kristni Saga* says, “*Habemus enim irriguos illos fontes, unde religionis, poeseos, imo incunabulorum gentis nostræ notitia manat, decantatissimas nempe Eddas, &c. Habemus integros et plenos codices historiarum, quæ circa heros ica versantur tempora.*”

must be considered as very valuable monuments of antiquity. Add to this, that the recital of these compositions, at publick entertainments, before the princes whose deeds they celebrated, and who, as well as many other persons present, were well acquainted with the subject of the poem, affords a collateral proof of their authenticity *.

A few of these odes were written in Runic characters †, the far greater part, however, were consigned only to memory; but no sooner was the christian religion introduced into Iceland, about the latter end of the 9th century †, than the Runic letters were exchanged

* Snorro Sturleson, who drew from these Scaldic Odes many materials for his Chronicle of the kings of Norway, thus speaks of them.

“ Præcipue carmina fumus secuti, quæ coram ipsis principibus aut eorum filiis sunt decantata, vera reputantes omnia, quæ istis in carminibus de eorum gestis aut bellis memoriz sunt prodita. More quidem Skaldis est receptum, præcipue laudare, cui ministrant. Ast nemo facile auderet, coram ipso principe, laudes et facta cantare, quæ tam ipse quam alii præsentibus scirent mera esse figmenta. Hoc dedecori non laudi esset.” See Preface to Schoening’s Edition of Snorro Sturlensi, p. 12. note.

† “ Though we have no reason to believe they were cut upon stones, as was practised among us (no Runic stones having been found there whose age reaches to the times of paganism); they used, however, to scratch them on their bucklers, and sometimes on their ceilings and walls; and the *Laxdaela Saga* makes mention of one Olof of Hiardarhult, who had a large house built, on the beams and rafters of which remarkable stories are said to have been marked, in the same manner as Tholkil Hake cut an account of his own deeds on his bedstead and chair.” Letters on Iceland, p. 158.

† In the *Kristni Saga*, the Introduction of Christianity into Iceland is thus related. “ Thorwaldus, a person of some distinction in Iceland, the inhabitants of which were all idolaters, happening to travel through Saxony, commenced acquaintance

ed for the Roman alphabet; schools were founded; the love of science, which had in some degree maintained itself, even when the inhabitants were in a state of paganism, revived with fresh vigour; many antient poems were collected; many digested into a regular form; and the very traditions of pagan theology rescued from oblivion. The Icelanders are known to have possessed several historians, long before a single annalist appeared among any of the nations from whom they were descended. Their authors Islief, Are, and Sæmund, who flourished in the 11th century, preceded Saxo Grammaticus and Sueno, the earliest of the Danish, Swedish, or Norwegian writers.

It would be an interesting speculation in the theory of mankind if it could be accounted for, “how it came to pass, that a people, “disjoined from the rest of the world, few “in number, depressed by poverty, and situated in so unfavourable a climate, should “be capable, in those dark ages, of manifesting such a taste for literature. Were “we better informed of certain particulars “relating to the state of the North during “those remote ages, we might possibly find “the cause of this phenomenon, either in “the poverty of the inhabitants of Iceland, “which

“quaintance with a certain bishop, whose name was Frederick; and being instructed by him in the Christian doctrines, was baptized. He then prevailed upon the bishop “to return with him to Iceland, in order to convert the natives to Christianity. And as the bishop was ignorant of “the language, Thorwaldus, receiving instruction, preached “to the people, and many were baptized. This event, which “laid the first foundation of the Gospel in Iceland, happened “in the year 980.” See *Kristni Saga*, p. 3, &c.

“ which drove them to seek their fortunes in
 “ the neighbouring countries; or in the success
 “ of their first bards at foreign courts, which
 “ excited their emulation, and at the same time
 “ prepossessed strangers in their favour; or,
 “ lastly, in the nature of their republican
 “ government, in which the talent of oratory,
 “ and the reputation of superior sense and
 “ capacity, are the direct roads to dignity,
 “ respect, and preferment*.”

To these causes may perhaps be joined the political tranquillity of Iceland, which remaining unshaken amid the civil commotions that convulsed the neighbouring nations, its inhabitants had sufficient leisure for literary occupations; and some may also be induced to add, the nature of their climate, which obliged them to seek for some relief against the tediousness of the long nights and continued darkness†.

But to return to the Icelandick authors. The most antient historian was Islief, bishop of Skalholt. This writer was son of Gissur Albus, a person of great distinction in Iceland, and descended from the antient kings of Denmark, who considerably promoted the reception and establishment of Christianity. Islief was born in 1006; and, having received the first rudiments of learning from his father, was sent, about the 16th year of his age, for the purpose of completing his education,

* Nor Ant. Vol. I. p. 392.

† *Ipsi in defossis specubus secura sub altâ
 Otia agunt terrâ —*

Hic noctem ludo ducunt. Virgil, Georg. III. 376.

cation, into Saxony, and made rapid advances in several branches of knowledge*. Being ordained priest, he returned to Iceland, and fixed his residence at Skalholt, where his father had erected a church; and preached the Gospel with a most fervent and persuasive eloquence. Islief was the first native bishop of Iceland: he was raised to that dignity in the 50th year of his age, at the request of the inhabitants, by particular desire of the emperor Henry III. and during the pontificate of Leo IX. He was consecrated by the archbishop of Bremen, on the 6th of January, 1056, and returning the same year to Iceland, fixed the see at Skalholt, where he continued until his death, which happened in 1080, in the 75th year of his age. Islief is described as a person of a dignified aspect, affable, just and upright in all his actions, liberal and beneficent, though, from the narrowness of his income, he was frequently exposed to extreme penury. The fame of his learning and piety was so widely diffused, that many foreign bishops visited Iceland, for the purpose of receiving his instructions; and his memory was so highly revered among his countrymen, that his name was esteemed synonymous to sanctity and erudition.

He was married to Dalla, daughter of Thorwaldus, by whom he had three sons, all of whom were celebrated for their talents and knowledge; but particularly Gissur, who succeeded his father in the bishoprick, and in his
zeal

* This account of Islief I have extracted from *Kristni Saga*, p. 106 to 109, 130 to 141. *Hungurvaka Saga*, p. 13 to 25.

zeal for the propagation of the Gospel, and the promotion of learning. Islief guarded against the decline of literature in Iceland, by assiduously instructing many pupils, some of whom became eminently distinguished; and two were advanced to the episcopal dignity. He was well versed in the history of the North; and compiled several annals, which, though now lost, furnished materials for the chronicles for the earliest Icelandick authors, whose works are at present extant. I allude to Are, surnamed the Sage, who was educated by Teitus, son of Islief; Sæmund Sigfurson, for his great erudition denominated Polyhistor; and Snorro Sturleson, styled by his learned editor the Herodotus of the North; all of whom immediately succeeded Islief, and wrote on the history of Norway.

Many subsequent annalists made their appearance, of whom it would be superfluous to give an account. Several of these writings, composed in the Icelandick tongue, have been given to the publick, some printed in Iceland*, others in Sweden; but the greatest part in Denmark, accompanied with Swedish, Danish, or Latin translations†. The most important

* Van Troil informs us, that printing was introduced into Iceland, by John (or Jonas) Arefon, bishop of Holun; that John Mathieson, a Swede, was the first printer; and that the first book was the Breviarium Nidarosiense, printed in 1531 at Holun. He adds, that new types were brought thither in 1574; and that the Icelandick Bible was printed in 1584. See Letters on Iceland, p. 182.

† For a list of the Icelandick authors, see Preface to Annales Biornornis de Skardsa, p. 5. North. Ant. I. p. 52, & passim. Letters on Iceland, Letter XIV. The library of the British

important of these publications is a folio edition of the above-mentioned chronicle of Snorro, printed at Copenhagen in 1778. It is accompanied with a life of the author, from which it appears, that he was born in 1178; that he received his education, and completed his studies in Iceland; that he was chief magistrate of the country; and that he was killed in an insurrection in 1241, in the 63d year of his age. His biographer says, that he was an excellent poet, an accurate historian, and a skilful lawyer, that he was a proficient in the Greek and Latin tongues, and not ignorant of mathematicks and mechanicks*. From his chronicle Torfæus, the late annalist of the North, has chiefly drawn the materials for his History of Norway; and he acknowledgess himself indebted to Snorro more than to any other writer.

From the 14th century, history and letters gradually declined in Iceland, and that island was involved in the same darkness which had for some time overspread Europe. The reformation, which was introduced in the middle of the 16th century, occasioned the revival of science. Although there never have been wanting among the inhabitants men of considerable learning, yet, as knowledge has widely diffused itself in Swden and Denmark under the protection of their sovereigns, these kingdoms have become greatly enlightened; and

British Museum contains about 180 Icelandick manuscripts. See Ayscough's Catalogue of the manuscripts of the British Museum, p. 890.

* Preface, p. ix.

and Iceland is no longer, what it was formerly, the sole repository of northern genius*.

Although the Danish literati have directed their chief attention to history and antiquities, yet they have by no means been deficient in the study of nature.

The late Frederick the 5th king of Denmark, a munificent patron of the sciences, founded, about the year 1751, a botanical garden at Charlottenburgh, intended principally to facilitate a royal and liberal design of giving a complete history, and engravings, of all the native plants in the Danish dominions†.

The superintendence of this garden, with a stipend annexed, and afterwards the professorship of botany in the Royal Academy of Copenhagen, were conferred on Mr. Oeder, who was chosen to conduct the work. In prosecution of this design, having, at the king's expence, visited various parts of Denmark and Norway, he began the publication in 1762.

The *Flora Danica* was intended to contain, in the folio form, figures of all the indigenous plants of Denmark, Norway, those of the duchies of Sleswick and Holstein, and of many from Iceland; a tract of country extending more than 16 degrees, between the 54th degree of latitude and the North Cape.

VOL. III.

C c

A history

* I am chiefly indebted for information upon the literary history of Iceland to Mallet's *North. Antiq.* translated by Dr. Percy, bishop of Dromore. Von Troil's *Letters on Iceland*, translated by Forster. *Torſœi Hiſt. Norw.* Snorro Sturlensis *Hiſt. Regum Norw.* and the several publications of the Icelandick writers printed at Copenhagen.

† This account of the *Flora Danica*, and of Messrs. Oeder and Muller, was chiefly communicated to me by Dr. Pulteney, to whom I have been so repeatedly obliged.

A history of all these plants, to be published in octavo, was also promised, but this part of the plan has not yet been completed.

Of this *Flora Danica*, a number, or *fasciculus*, containing 60 plates, was intended to be annually published, and the first came forth in 1762: but, according to the usual fate of periodical undertakings of such considerable extent, a variety of causes has, at different times, retarded its regular progress; insomuch, that the 15th *fasciculus* only, completing the number of 900 plates, or 5 volumes, made its appearance in 1782.

This work may be purchased either coloured or plain. The names of the plants are not engraved on the plates; neither from the nature of the subject could any regular method, or system, be observed in the publication.

The plants are separately figured; each engraving contains one plant only, except in those of the class *Cryptogamia*, where, in some instances, several are given in the same plate.

Prefixed to each *fasciculus* is a nomenclature, with the Linnæan names, and a few select synonyms, and an account of the places of growth. As often as the size will admit, the plant is exhibited in its natural magnitude; in others, a branch only; and, in most instances, the parts of fructification are separately delineated: an article indispensable to botanical accuracy.

In

In some of the larger plants, beside the branch of the natural size, the whole is given on a reduced scale; but it must be confessed, that this part of the design is the least meritorious: happily it does not often occur.

The 12th *fasciculus*, in 1777, was accompanied with an index of all the plants already engraved, or intended to be contained in this work; by which it appears, that the whole number will nearly amount to 1800 species; of which more than 570 are of the class Cryptogamia; or that which contains the ferns, mosses, algæ, and fungi. And, that any curious persons, yet unacquainted with this work, may judge how far it might be subservient to their knowledge of English botany, it may be added, that out of 980 species already figured in the 15 first *fasciculi*, more than 700 are also spontaneously produced in Britain.

Magnificent and accurate as this work is, and though carried on at the king's expence, truth will not be offended by asserting, that the execution of it is still inferior to a performance of the same kind, now publishing in England, at the risk of an individual. I allude to Mr. Curtis's *Flora Londinensis*; which, for the magnitude of the plates, the nice discrimination and figures of the fructification, has not been paralleled by any other publication of such scope and design; nor is the merit of the *Flora Londinensis* confined to the accurate elegance of the plates: it contains a minute description of

each plant, and is enriched by scientifick, useful, and œconomical observations, either extracted from the best witters, or derived from the extensive knowledge of its author. It is but justice to add, that the minute plants of the class Cryptogamia, in the delineation of which the *Flora Danica* is extremely deficient, are figured with the utmost exactness by Mr. Curtis, who has introduced to the English botanist five new species of *agarici**. Every lover of science must join in wishing, that the *Flora Londinensis* may meet with all that encouragement which is due to a work that will honour the age and the nation in which it appears.

Christian Oeder, to whom, through the liberality of his monarch, we are indebted for the *Flora Danica*, was the pupil and friend of the celebrated Haller, under whom he was educated at Gottingen. It appears, by Dr. Nugent's account of Oeder†, that he visited England in his younger days, and had acquired a great knowledge of the language. Whilst he was a student at Gottingen, he translated all the English treatises for a Latin edition of Dr. Mead's works, which Haller published in 2 vols. 8vo. in 1748.

The succeeding year he took his doctor's degree in physick, and wrote, on that occasion, a thesis, which Haller calls "*Docta*" "*Dissertatio contra revulsionem & derivationem*."

In

* A *Ostreatus*; *Plicatilis*; *Glutinosus*; *Floccosus*; *Velutipes*.

† See Nugent's *Travels through Germany*, Vol. I.

In the year 1752, at which period he was settled at Copenhagen, the Royal Academy of Sciences at Gottingen named him a correspondent member; and soon after he was made superintendant of the botanical garden at Copenhagen, and professor of botany.

In 1752 Oeder presided at the publick disputation of Dr. Peter Ascanius, and took that occasion to write on irritability: a subject on which the experiments and observations of his great master had drawn the attention of anatomists and physicians.

Having performed many journies, accompanied by a draughtsman, into the different provinces of Denmark, and collected great materials for the intended Flora, he published in 1762 the first *fasciculus*; and in 1764, as a part of his plan, his Elements of Botany, in 8vo. This work exhibits a profound knowledge of his subject; and the author has given the outlines of a new method of arrangement, adapted only to the plants of Europe. The second volume of the Elements was printed in 1766, and is embellished with fourteen excellent plates, explanatory of the technical part of his subject. His system was intended to comprize eight classes, under the following titles. 1. *Cryptantheræ*; 2. *Monocotyledones*; 3. *Amentacæ*; 4. *Incompletæ*; 5. *Calycarpæ*; 6. *Calycanthemæ*; 7. *Monopetalæ*; 8. *Polypetalæ*.

Of this system the author has only exemplified the first class, which he published in a separate volume in 1770, in 8vo, and in which are methodically arranged 1239 species,

cies, with the specifick names from Dillenius, Haller, and Linnæus.

It is greatly to be regretted, that this ingenious naturalist has been called from the paths of science by an appointment to an office in the treasury, where he has showed himself no less qualified to excel in the civil line.

Upon the publication of the 11th *fasciculus* of the *Flora Danica*, in 1775, the further prosecution of the work was committed to the care of Dr. Otto Frederick Muller, a gentleman who has since given to the publick several valuable specimens of his knowledge in natural history; particularly a curious work under the title of *Historia Vermium*; another under that of *Zoologia Danicæ Prodrromus*; and is now engaged, under the highest patronage, in publishing the figures of all the rarer animals of the kingdom of Denmark, under the title of *Zoologia Danicæ Icones*, of which two *fasciculi* have made their appearance.

In speaking of the publications on natural history, it would be unpardonable to omit mentioning the most splendid work of the kind ever produced in any nation. It is a collection of rare shells, in two volumes, folio, engraved and coloured by Francis Michael Regenfuss, at the royal expence. The first volume, which is the only one I have seen, contains a short account of the collections of natural history, and particularly of shells, in Denmark; a preliminary discourse on conchology, with a detail of the several authors who have written on the subject,
and

and their different systems, and 78 complete and delicately coloured figures, in 12 plates, accompanied with scientific descriptions in the Latin, French, and German languages*.

The kings of Denmark have occasionally deputed, and still continue to send, at their expence, men of learning through their own territories, and into various parts of the world, for the purpose of extending the bounds of knowledge.

Langebeck travelled through the Danish dominions, and into Sweden, with a view to collect documents, charters, and other state papers, relative to the antient history of the North; and Schoening for the same purpose at the expence of prince Frederick. Among others now employed in the execution of the same royal plan, Dr. Moldenhauer, a gentleman of various and profound erudition, has lately visited England and France, and is now in Spain, in order to examine the libraries for manuscripts in oriental and classical learning.

But the literary expedition, which reflects the highest honour upon the crown of Denmark, and holds up an example to be imitated by the other sovereigns, was begun in 1761, under the auspices of Frederick V. who, at the suggestion of the late count Bernsdorf, dispatched four persons† eminently

* *Choix de Coquillages Gravées.*

† Frederick Christian Haven for Oriental languages; Forkall and Dr. Cramer for natural history; Niebuhr for history and geography; they were accompanied by a draughtsman.

nently versed in different branches of science to Arabia; of which curious and interesting journey Niebuhr, the only survivor, has published a much esteemed account†.

C H A P. V.

Departure from Copenhagen.—Journey through the Isle of Zealand.—Roskild.—The cathedral.—Sepulchres of several sovereigns of Denmark.—Tombs and characters of Harald Blaatand.—Sweyn II.—Margaret of Valdemar.—Christian I.—Genealogical tables of the kings of Denmark.—Saxo Grammaticus.—Royal sepulchres at Ringsted.—Passage across the Great Belt.—Isle of Funen.—Odensee.—Tombs and characters of John and Christian II.—Passage across the Little Belt.—Journey through Slesvick and Holstein.—Canal of Kiel.—General remarks on the circular ranges of stones frequent in Sweden and Denmark.

APRIL 5. Upon quitting Copenhagen, we passed along an excellent road, through a well-cultivated open country, to Roskild, formerly the royal residence and the metropolis of Denmark. It stands at a small distance from the bay of Isefiord; and, in its flourishing state,
was

† Beschreibung von Arabien; Reise Beschreibung nach Arabien, &c. in 3 vols. This work has been translated into the French language. Description de l'Arabie. They departed from Copenhagen in 1761.

was of great extent, comprizing within its walls 27 churches, and as many convents*. Its present circumference is scarcely half an English mile, and it contains only about 1620 souls; the houses are of brick, and of a neat appearance. The only remains of its original magnificence are the ruins of a palace, and the cathedral, a brick building with two spires, in which the kings of Denmark are interred. According to an inscription in the choir it was founded† by Harald VI. who is styled king of Denmark, England, and Norway. Some verses, in barbarous Latin, obscurely allude to the principal incidents of his life; adding, that he built this church, and died in 980‡. This Harald, surnamed Blaaland, was son of Gormo III. called the Old; and was the first king of Denmark who embraced the Christian religion. His name occurs in the old Saxon Chronicles as one of the invaders of England in the 10th century, where he established his authority over the kingdom of the East Angles, and of Northumberland. But his history is so mixed with fable, that glaring contradictions appear in almost every incident. He lost his life in consequence of an insurrection headed by his son Sweyn; but whether he was slain in battle, or by order of the rebel part, is not known. Harald was father
of

* Holberg, Vol. I. p. 618.

† Little of the original building now remains. According to Holberg, it was constructed of wood, and afterwards built with stone in the reign of Canute.

‡ Funditus hæc Jovi summo tunc condidit ædes,
Post natale Dei, dum scripsimus octuaginta
Nongentos, meruit scandere celsa poli.

of a line of kings, who raised the power of Denmark to the highest greatness. His son Sweyn I. is well known in our annals for his depredations upon the coast of England, and his tributary exactions; and his grandson Canute the Great, who united, in his person, the crowns of England and Denmark, was the most powerful prince of his time. The immediate descendants of Harald Blaatand died, and were buried, in England; and his male line was extinct in the person of Hardicanute, the last sovereign who wore the two crowns.

In the same cathedral rest the remains of Sweyn II. the first of a line of sovereigns, called the Middle Race. He was son of Ulf, governor of Denmark, who had greatly signalled himself in war, and of Estrida sister of Canute the Great. Ulf being put to death at Roskild, by order of Canute, Sweyn fled into Sweden; and, upon the death of Hardicanute in 1042, claimed the crown of Denmark in right of his mother; for which reason he is generally known by the appellation of Sweyn the son of Estrida. The states, however, gave the preference to Magnus the Good king of Norway; but he dying in 1047, they unanimously elected Sweyn, who seems, by his abilities, to have deserved his elevation. In a Latin inscription, he is called king of England as well as of Denmark and Norway; although the former crown had been restored to the Saxon line in the person of Edward the Confessor, and was afterwards seized by William the Conqueror. Sweyn sent a fleet against England, in order to assert his right to the

the throne, as a lineal descendant from Canute the Great; but his troops were either defeated by William, or obliged to evacuate the island through the treachery of his brother.

Sweyn is described by a contemporary historian*, who personally knew him as a prince polite to foreigners, of elegant manners, and great literary accomplishments. He died in 1074, leaving thirteen sons and two daughters: five of the sons successively filled the throne of Denmark; and his posterity, in the male line, held it in possession until 1387, when Valdemar III. dying without male issue, the female branch succeeded; first in the person of Oloff II. son of the celebrated Margaret; and, upon his decease, in that of Margaret herself, whose ashes are also interred in this cathedral.

The sepulchre of this remarkable woman, who is generally styled the Semiramis of the North, stands conspicuous in the middle of the church: it is enclosed within a balustrade; the monument is of stone painted black, and upon it lies the figure of the queen in alabaster, a whole length, and, as we were informed, her exact size when alive. If this tradition be true, it was obvious to remark, that she must have been very short in her person. An inscription upon the tomb, instead of enlarging in long fulsome flatteries, such as are usually paid to sovereigns, after recording the time of her death, only adds, that
“ it

* See the quotation from Adams Bremen in Pontopidan's Mar. Dan. p. 2.

“ it was raised at the expence of Eric of Pomerania, in memory of a princess whom posterity could never sufficiently honour as she deserves.” Nothing less could be said of a personage who so justly claims our respect and veneration, and whose glorious reign has scarcely its parallel in the records of history. This Margaret, daughter of Valdemar III. and Hedwige his queen, was born in 1353; and, if we may give credit to some of the Danish historians, owed her being to a circumstance as singular as her whole life was illustrious and eminent. Valdemar, in returning from an hunting party, chanced to repair to the castle of Seborg, where he had confined his consort Hedwige on account of some ill-grounded suspicions. Being pleased with one of the queen’s attendants, he proposed an interview: the woman feigned compliance, but substituted her mistress in her stead, and Margaret was the fruit of their meeting; which has led a Danish historian* to remark, in the high style of panegyrick, that the good which he unconsciously performed that night in begetting Margaret, amply compensated for all the evil actions of his life. In the sixth year of her age she was betrothed to Haquin, king of Norway, son of Magnus

* “ Regina eadem sui mariti & pellex, & uxor, & concubina. Quid ad hanc scenam Herculis navitatis, aut in Alcmenæ sinu Juppiter decumbens. Sané autem plus eâ nocte Valdemarus fecit boni inscius, quàm per omnem vitam sciens fecerat mali; qui prætiosissimam vitam donavit orbi tot regnorum compotem futuram Margaretam, & legem transgrediendo, felicem Daniam effecit.” Berengii Florus Danicus, p. 506.

nus king of Sweden, which was the first step to her future greatness. This marriage, after much opposition on the part of the Swedes, was solemnized at Copenhagen, in 1363, when she was only in the eleventh year of her age. Margaret gave so many proofs of her prudence and courage when Haquin lost the crown of Sweden, as induced Valdemar frequently to say of her, that nature intended her for a man, and had erred in making her a woman*.

Upon the demise of her father in 1375, she had the address to secure the election of her son Oloff, then only five years of age, in preference to the son of her eldest sister Ingeburga; and, upon the death of her husband Haquin, she secured his succession to the crown of Norway. Being regent during Oloff's minority, her administration was so vigorous, prudent, and popular, that, upon his premature death in 1385, she was chosen queen by the states of Denmark; the first instance, perhaps, in a government wholly elective, and in which custom had not authorized the election of a female, of a woman being exalted to the throne by the free and unanimous suffrages of a warlike people. With the same address she procured the crown of Norway; and was equally successful in gaining that of Sweden. Albert had been chosen king, and might have preserved his power, if it had not been his fate to contend with such a rival as Margaret. When, in allusion

* Pontani Hist. Dan. 544.

allusion to her sex, he styled her, in derision, the king in petticoats, she answered his reproach by actions, not by words; and made him sorely repent of his vaunts, when he found himself worsted in every engagement; when deposed and captive, he owed his life to the clemency of the very woman whom he had so wantonly insulted. By the famous union of Calmar in 1397, she united the three Northern kingdoms, and held them undivided during her reign, notwithstanding the aversion of the Swedes to the Danish government.

But from nothing is the vigour and policy of her conduct more conspicuous than from this consideration, that the perpetual revolts and intestine convulsions, which continually disturbed the reigns of the sovereigns who immediately preceded and followed her, were subdued throughout her whole administration. This internal tranquillity, more glorious, though less splendid, than her warlike achievements, and which was very unusual in those turbulent times, could only be derived from the over-ruling ascendancy of her superior genius.

This great princess died suddenly on the 27th of October, 1412, in the 60th year of her age, and, if we include the period of her regency, in the 30th of her reign, leaving the three kingdoms to the quiet possession of her successor, Eric of Pomerania; and to her subjects the regret of her loss, by the experience of those calamities which broke in upon the state when the sceptre was wielded by a less
able

able hand. Her remains were first deposited at Soroe, but were removed to this cathedral by order of the bishop of Roskild *.

All the sovereigns of the house of Oldenburgh, which still possesses the throne of Denmark, are interred in the cathedral of Roskild, excepting John, Christian II. and Frederick I.

Christian I. the father of this line, lies in a small chapel, without any monument or inscription. He was count of Oldenburgh, and owed his elevation, as well to his lineal descent from Eric VII. as to the moderation of his uncle Adolphus duke of Sleswick. Upon the death of Christopher of Bavaria without issue, the states of Denmark offered the throne to Adolphus, as the nearest in blood to the deceased monarch; but he declining it on account of his advanced age, they, at his recommendation, elected his nephew Christian, then in the 22d year of his age: this event happened in 1448; and in the same year he was permitted also to ascend the throne of Norway, in right of his descent from one of their antient kings. He obtained the crown of Sweden in 1458, upon the deposition of Charles Canutson; but wore it only a short time, as well through his own activity, as through the aversion of the Swedes to a foreign ruler. Christian I. reigned three and twenty years; a sovereign of great moderation and humanity; whose qualities, being less shining than solid,

* Hic primum sepulta, sed postea per Dominum Petrum Episcopum Roskildensem violenter translata, & Roskildis sepulta. Langebek, Tom. IV. p. 542.

lid, were more adapted to the interior administration of affairs, than to the exploits of war. He is justly characterized by an historian, as one of those princes who do not attract the admiration of mankind, yet whom Providence never bestows upon a nation but as a signal mark of his favour *.

The successors of Christian I. who are buried in the same church, seem in general to have inherited his pacifick qualities; as all, except Frederick II. and Christian IV. were princes of mild and temperate dispositions; patrons of the arts and sciences, rather than enterprising in arms; who yielded to others the palm of military glory; and for the most part shrunk before the daring spirit which animated the rival house of Vasa.

In the same chapel are the tombs of Christian III. and Frederick II. Their superb monuments, executed in Italy, at the expence of Christian IV. are elegantly carved, and are esteemed master-pieces of sculpture. The statues of the two sovereigns are represented as large as life, under a canopy of stone, supported by Corinthian pillars. Several figures of angels, and the basso-relievos round the mausoleum of Frederick II. representing that prince's battles, are justly admired. No tomb is erected to the memory of Christian IV. justly called, by Mr. Wraxall, the Idol of Danish History: his body is deposited in a coffin

* “ Plus grand aux yeux de la saine raison qu'à ceux du vulgaire, il fut peut-être un de ces princes que les peuples ne louent que foiblement, mais que le Ciel ne leur accorde que quand il veut leur prouver son amour.” Mallet, Hist. de Dan. Tom. II. p. 95.

fin covered with velvet, ornamented with silver trophies, escutcheons, and angels holding crowns of laurel.

It would be tedious to enumerate the other sepulchres of the royal family, most of which are loaded with inscriptions of great length; the reader, who is desirous of further information, will find them accurately transcribed in Pontopidan's *Marmora Danica*, and in Travels through Denmark, published in 1702.

The following genealogical tables trace in regular descent the Kings of Denmark, from Harald Blaataad to the present sovereign.

Genealogical Table of the KINGS of DENMARK, from HARALD BLAATAND to CHRISTIAN I.

1. Harald VI. Blaatand, king of Denmark, 939 ; died 989.

2. Sweyn I. king 989 ; died 1014.

Estrida, married Ulf Jarl.

6. Sweyn II. king of Denmark, 1060 ; died 1074.

7. Harald, died 1080.

11. Nicholas, died 1135.

10. Eric III. Siegod, sometimes called Eric IV. d. 1103.

4. Harald Harefoot, 5. Hardicanute, k. of Denmark, 1036 ; d. 1042.

Harald.

Canute St. duke of Sleswick, king of the Oborites, assassinated by Magnus son of Nicholas, 1131.

12. Eric IV. Emun, k. 1135 ; d. 1137.

A daughter.

13. Eric V. Lam. died 1147.

14. Canute, joint sovereign with Sweyn III. d. 1157.

15. Valdemar I. the Great, king 1157, died 1182.

16. Canute VI. d. 1202.

17. Valdemar II. d. 1241.

Waldemar, joint sovereign with his father, and sometimes called Valdemar II. d. 1231.

18. Eric VI. k. 1241 ; d. 1250.

20. Christopher I. k. 1250 ; d. 1259.

19. Abel, king 1250 ; died 1252.

21. Eric VII. Clipping, k. 1259 ; d. 1286.

Valdemar, duke of Sleswick.

Eric, duke of Sleswick.

22. Eric VIII. Menved ; k. 1286 ; d. 1319.

Margaret, mar. Nicholas de Verde.

24. Valdemar III. called sometimes Valdemar IV. k. 1340, after an interregnum of six years ; died 1375.

Sophia, mar. Gerard count of Holstein.

Ingeburga, m. Henry duke of Mecklenburgh.

26. Margaret, m. Haquin k. of Norway, who died 1380 ; queen of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway ; died 1410, aged 60.

Henry, d. 1437.

Adolphus, d. 1495.

Gerard, Hedwig, mar. Theodoric count of Oldenburgh, died 1440.

Maria, married Wratislas duke of Pomerania.

27. Eric IX. of Pomerania ; k. 1420 ; deposed 1439 ; m. 1406, Philip.

25. Olaus, or Olof, k. 1375 ; d. 1387.

29. Christian I. k. of Denmark, 1428.

Genealogical Table of the KINGS of DENMARK of the House of OLDENBURGH.

I. Christian I. count of Oldenburgh and Delmenhorst, king of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway 1448 ; died 1481.

II. John, died 1513.

Margaret, mar. James III. k. of Scotland.

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II. John, died 1513.		Margaret, mar. James III. k. of Scotland.		IV. Frederick I. k. upon the deposition of Christian II. in 1523; d. 1533; mar. 1. Anne of Brandenburg; 2. Sophia, princess of Pomerania Stettin.	
III. Christian II. deposed 1523; m. Elizabeth sister of the emperor Charles V. died 1559.		V. Christian III. died 1558; m. Dorothy of Saxe Lawenburg.		Adolphus, author of the line of the dukes of Holstein-Gottorp, from whom descended Peter III. of Russia.	
John, died 1532, at Katibon, aged 14.		Christina, m. 1. Francis Sforza duke of Milan; 2. Francis duke of Lorraine, from whom descended, in a regular line, Francis late emperor of Germany.		Elizabeth, m. Ulrich duke of Mecklenburgh.	
VI. Frederick II. b. 1534; d. 1583; m. Sophia princess of Mecklenburgh.		Magnus, b. 1540; bishop of Ael and Piltten, and titular k. of Livonia; d. 1583.		John, duke of Sleswick, b. 1545; died 1622; author of the branches of Sonderborg, Norborg, Gloeksborg, and Plæn.	
Elizabeth, b. 1573; m. Henry duke of Brunswick Lunenburg.		Anne, b. 1574; m. James king of England.		VII. Christian IV. b. 1577; d. 1648; m. Anne Catharine, princess of Brandenburg.	
Christian, b. 1603; died 1647.		VIII. Frederick III. b. 1609; d. 1670; m. Sophia Amelia princess of Brunswick Lunenburg.		Ulrich, d. 1603.	
IX. Christian V. b. 1646; d. 1699; m. Charlotte Amelia of Hesse-Cassel.		George, b. 1653; m. Anne queen of England.		Several daughters, amongst whom Ulrica Eleonora, m. to Charles XI. king of Sweden.	
X. Frederick IV. b. 1671; d. 1730.		George, b. 1699; d. 1746; mar. Christina Sophia princess of Brandenburg Bareith.		Ulrich, d. 1603.	
XI. Christian VI. b. 1699; d. 1746; m. 1. Louisa, d. of George II. k. of England; 2. Juliana Maria, d. of Ferdinand Albert of Brunswick-Wolfenbottel.		Sophia Magdalena, b. 1746; m. Gustavus III. the present king of Sweden.		Louisa, b. 1750; m. Charles second son of Frederick, Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel.	
XII. Frederick V. b. 1723; d. 1766; m. 1. Louisa, d. of George II. k. of England; 2. Juliana Maria, d. of Ferdinand Albert of Brunswick-Wolfenbottel.		Sophia Magdalena, b. 1746; m. Gustavus III. the present king of Sweden.		Louisa, b. 1750; m. Charles second son of Frederick, Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel.	
XIII. Christian VII. b. 1749; m. Matilda, sister of George III. king of England.		Sophia Magdalena, b. 1746; m. Gustavus III. the present king of Sweden.		Louisa, b. 1750; m. Charles second son of Frederick, Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel.	
Frederick b. 1753; m. Sophia Frederica princess of Mecklenburgh Schwerin.		Louisa, b. 1750; m. Charles second son of Frederick, Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel.		Louisa, b. 1750; m. Charles second son of Frederick, Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel.	

In addition to the royal sepulchres which I observed at Roskild, I shall mention that of Saxo Grammaticus, the most antient Danish historian.

Saxo, descended from an illustrious Danish * family, was born about the middle of the 12th century †; and on account of his uncommon learning, was distinguished by the name of *Grammaticus*. He was provost of the cathedral church of Roskild, and warmly patronized by the learned and warlike Alfsen the celebrated archbishop of Lunden, at whose instigation he wrote the history of Denmark. His epitaph, a dry panegyrick in bad Latin verses, gives no account of the æra of his death, which happened, according to Stephens, in 1204. His history, consisting of 16 books, begins from the earliest account of the Danish annals, and concludes with the year 1186. According to the opinion of an accurate writer ‡, the first part which relates to the origin of the Danes, and the reigns of the antient kings, is full of fables; but the eight last books, and particularly those which regard the events of his own times, deserve the

* Some authors have erroneously conjectured, from his name Saxo, that he was born in Saxony; but Saxo was no uncommon appellation among the antient Danes. See Olaus Wormius *Monumenta Danica*, p. 186. and Stephens's *Prolegomena*, p. 10.

† Stephens, in his edition of Saxo Grammaticus, printed at Soroe, indubitably proves, that he must have been alive in 1156, but cannot ascertain the exact place and time of his birth. See Stephens's *Prolegomena* to the Notes on Saxo Grammaticus, p. 8. to 24; also Holberg, Vol. I. p. 269; and Mallet's *North. Antiq.* Vol. I. p. 4.

‡ Holberg.

the utmost credit. He wrote in Latin; the style, if we consider the barbarous age in which he flourished, is in general extremely elegant, but rather too poetical for history §.

After having satisfied our curiosity in examining the tombs of Roskild, we continued our journey, and passed the night at Ringsted, a small, but neat, town, situated almost in the center of the island; it is said by some antiquaries to have been built by Sigurd Ring, king of Denmark, who reigned in the 7th century; but this notion seems merely founded on the similarity of the name Ring. The church, which is esteemed the most antient Christian temple in Denmark, is a brick building, with two low square towers. Within several Danish kings of the house of Sweyn II. are interred. The tombs are much more simple than those at Roskild; being generally plain stones level with the pavement, exhibiting a figure in armour carved in flat brass, or on the naked stone, with Latin inscriptions, mostly effaced by time. A few of the sepulchres, which are somewhat more modern, are raised in the shape of coffins. The first sovereign buried in this church is Waldemar I. who

§ Mallet, in his *Histoire de Dannemarc*, Vol. I. p. 182, says, "that Sperling, a writer of great erudition, has proved, in contradiction to the assertions of Stephens and others, that Saxo Grammaticus was secretary to Absalon; and that the Saxo provost of Roskild was another person, and lived earlier." If so, Saxo Grammaticus, the historian, is probably not buried at Roskild. Be this particular as it may, the reader will not, it is hoped, be displeased with the account of an author so little known as Saxo Grammaticus.

who expired in 1182: and the last is Eric VIII. surnamed Manved, who died in 1319.

April 6. We pursued our route to Corsoer, the place of embarkation, upon the Great Belt, which separates the Isle of Zealand from that of Funen. Corsoer stands upon the western point of the Isle of Zealand on a small peninsula: it has a good harbour for light vessels, and is fortified by a citadel defended by a rampart of earth and bastions, with a few useless cannon, more for form than service. It contains the commander's house, which was formerly a royal palace, and a granary, and is garrisoned by a few invalids.

Zealand, which we crossed in our way from Copenhagen to Corsoer, is the largest of the isles belonging to the king of Denmark, being about 700 miles in circumference. That part which we traversed appears a gently waving surface; for the most part open, dotted occasionally with small woods of beech and oak, and diversified with beautiful lakes. The island is exceedingly fertile; it produces grain of all sorts, and in great plenty, abounds with excellent pasture, and is particularly famous for its breed of horses. The fields, which seemed well cultivated, were in many parts formed into inclosures, separated by mud walls: a few cottages were of brick; but the generality were of mud white-washed.

April 8. The wind blowing high and directly contrary, we were detained two days at Corsoer; and, upon its shifting, we embarked for the Isle of Funen: the distance between the nearest points on each coast is about 18 miles.

miles. About mid-day we passed the small island of Sproe, near which lay a guardship, for the purpose of exacting the toll from all vessels which pass between that island and Zealand: other ships pay their duty at Nyborg. Sproe contains only two buildings; a small inn for the occasional refreshment of the guardship's crew; and a neat farm-house. It produces grain and pasture. Upon the top of an height overlooking the sea, we observed the ruins of an antient fortress; which, as the sailors informed us, formerly belonged to pirates, who used to resort in great numbers to this island, which seemed well adapted for that purpose.

After a favourable passage of four hours, we landed at Nyborg, a small well-built town, in the Isle of Funen, standing upon a commodious bay. The town is surrounded with a rampart and ditch, and garrisoned by a company of invalids. An inscription over an old square building informed me, that Christian III. son of Frederick I. raised the fortifications. Towards the skirts of the town, and close to the ramparts, are the remains of an old palace, in which Christian II. was born; and to the roof of which, as his biographer * relates, he was conveyed, while an infant, by a tame monkey, and brought down without receiving the least harm.

In the afternoon we reached Odensee, the capital of the Isle of Funen, a place of such high antiquity, that some Danish writers derive its foundation and name from Oden, the
god

* Svaning Vit. Christ. II.

god and hero of the Gothick nations. But leaving such disquisitions to the antiquaries of the country, I shall only observe, that its name occurs in the earliest ages of the Danish history; and that it was a town of great note long before Copenhagen existed. Odensee stands upon a small river, which is not navigable, and about two miles from the Bay of Stegestrand. Many of the houses are antient, bearing dates about the middle of the 16th century; but part is newly built: it contains about 5200 inhabitants, who carry on some commerce, exporting chiefly grain and leather; the latter is much esteemed, and its goodness is supposed to arise from a certain property in the river water, in which it is soaked for tanning. The Danish cavalry are supplied from thence with the greatest part of their leathern accoutrements.

Odensee is the seat of a bishop, which was founded by Harald Blaatand in 980, and is the richest in Denmark next to Copenhagen. It has a school, endowed by the celebrated Margaret of Valdemar, in which a certain number of scholars, from six to sixteen years of age, are instructed gratis; they live and board in the town, and each receives a yearly pension; other scholarships have been also founded by private persons. The whole number amounted to seventy. There is also a *gymnasium*, instituted by Christian IV. for the admission of students at the age of sixteen. This seminary was still further improved by the liberality of Holberg the Danish historian, who protected letters with the same zeal with which

which he cultivated them. It is now greatly fallen from its former flourishing state, containing, when I passed through the town, only eight students.

The cathedral is a large old brick building, which has nothing remarkable, except some costly monuments of a private Danish family. The church, which formerly belonged to the convent of Recolets, contains the sepulchre of John king of Denmark, and of his son Christian II.

John ascended the throne in 1481, upon the death of his father Christian I. and in 1497, renewing the union of Calmar, he obtained the crown of Sweden; which the Swedes, however, did not long permit him to enjoy. He died on the 12th of February, 1513, having on his death-bed forcibly admonished his son Christian II; admonitions which could have but little effect upon a breast already corrupted by power, and impatient for dominion. John would have acted more wisely, if he had endeavoured to render his son's infant mind capable of receiving the impressions of virtue, and had not shamefully neglected his education; a crime highly reprehensible in a father, because it can never be remedied; but unpardonable in a sovereign, who is perhaps rearing a tyrant for his subjects, and entailing upon his country a series of evils, for which he is himself chiefly accountable. Historians agree in representing John as a wise and prudent prince, inclined to peace, but enterprising in war; and as generally moderate and humane: admitting, however, that he perpetrated occasional

sional acts of violence and cruelty, derived from a species of melancholy madness, that preyed upon his mind, and at times deprived him of his senses.

His son, the cruel and unfortunate Christian II. is entombed near the father, under a plain grave-stone, somewhat raised, but without any inscription. He was born at Nyborg, on the 2d of July, 1481; and discovered in his youth many symptoms of a lively genius and a good understanding, which, if properly cultivated, might have rendered him the ornament, instead of becoming, as he proved, the dishonour of his country. The young prince was entrusted to a common burgher of Copenhagen; and was afterwards removed to the house of a school-master, who was also a canon of the cathedral. In this latter situation his chief employment consisted in regularly accompanying his master to church, where he distinguished himself beyond the other scholars and choristers in chanting and singing psalms. From thence he was placed under the tuition of a German preceptor, a man of learning, but a pedant; under whom, however, he made a considerable proficiency in the Latin tongue. From this humble education Christian imbibed a taste for bad company; was accustomed to haunt the common taverns, to mix with the lowest of the populace, to scour the streets, and to be guilty of every excess. The king at length, informed of these irregularities, reproved him severely; but as the prince had already contracted those bad habits, which
were

were grown too strong to yield to any effort, these admonitions were too late. He feigned, however, contrition for his past behaviour; and again won the affections of his father by his military successes in Norway; and by an unwearied application to the affairs of government.

During the first years of his reign, which commenced in 1513, his administration was in many respects worthy of praise; and the excellence of many of his laws, which it would be unjust to deny, has induced Holberg* to affirm, that if the character of Christian II. was to be determined by his laws, and not by his actions, he would merit the appellation of Good, rather than of Tyrant. Happy would it have been for himself and his people, if he had continued his reign upon the same principles.

At first all his enterprizes were crowned with success: he abridged the power of the Danish nobility, and exalted the regal prerogatives; he obtained the crown of Sweden by conquest, and was even proclaimed hereditary sovereign of that kingdom. A prudent and temperate use of these advantages might have ensured to him a long and undisturbed possession of the throne; if his natural disposition, now freed from all restraint by prosperity, had not hurried him to the perpetration of the most flagrant acts of tyranny. The dreadful massacre of Stockholm, in which six hundred of the principal nobility were put to the sword, under the semblance

* Dan. Gef. Vol. II. p. 94.

semblance of law, and amid the rejoicings of his coronation, exhibited such a striking instance of his malignant and implacable character; that, upon the revolt of Gustavus Vasa, the spirit of resistance diffused itself rapidly from Sweden to Denmark, where he had exasperated his subjects by repeated cruelties and oppressions, and the sole confidence which he placed in the lowest and most unworthy favourites*. In 1523 he was publicly deposed by the states of Denmark; and the crown transferred to his uncle Frederick duke of Holstein. This deposition was neither

* The first of these favourites was the infamous Sigrebit, mother of the king's mistress Diveke. This artful woman, who was a native of Holland, and had kept an inn at Bergen in Norway, even after her daughter's death retained such power, that she might even be styled prime-minister: she was the only channel of his favours; transacted all affairs of importance; had the care of the finances; superintended the customs of the Sound; and had, in a word, acquired such a wonderful ascendancy over the infatuated monarch, that her influence was attributed to fascination. Upon the king's deposition, Sigrebit was so much detested, that, from apprehensions of the popular fury, she was conveyed in a chest on board of the vessel which carried Christian from Denmark. Holberg adds, that she consoled the king for the loss of his crown, by assuring him, that, through the emperor's interest, he could not fail of being chosen burgomaster of Amsterdam. The further particulars of this woman's life subsequent to her escape from Denmark are not known.

The other favourite of Christian II. no less infamous than the former, was Nicholas Slagelbeck, originally a barber of Westphalia, and recommended to the king by his relation Sigrebit. He rendered himself so useful to Christian by his sanguinary advice at the massacre of Stockholm, and by being the instrument of this cruelty that he was rewarded with the archbishoprick of Lunden. Not long afterwards, however, the king threw upon his favourite all the odium of the massacre, and sacrificed him to the publick vengeance: the unfortunate victim was first racked, and then burnt alive, exhibiting a melancholy example, what little confidence is to be reposed in the favour of a tyrant.

ther the consequence of Frederick's intrigues, nor of the spirit of party; but was occasioned by the just and universal detestation which pervaded all ranks of people; and as it was the general sense of the nation, it had more the appearance of a new election upon the demise of the crown, than of a revolution which deprived a despot of his throne. Christian himself was indeed so sensible of the general odium, that though by no means deficient in personal courage, he yet made not the least effort to retain possession of that throne which he had so often dishonoured. Upon quitting Copenhagen he repaired to Antwerp, under the protection of Charles V. whose sister Isabella he had married. After many delays and solicitations at the different courts of Europe, he at length collected, by the emperor's assistance, a fleet and army, with which he invaded the Danish dominions: his attempts, however, proving unsuccessful, he fell, in 1532, into the hands of Frederick I. and was consigned a prisoner to the castle of Sunderborg, a strong fortress in the Isle of Alsen.

The place of his confinement was a dungeon, with a small window, admitting only a few rays of light, and through which his provisions were conveyed. Having entered this gloomy cell with a favourite dwarf, the sole companion of his misery, the door was instantly walled up. Even the horrors of this situation were aggravated by the death of his only son John, who expired at Ratisbon in the 15th year of his age, and on the same day in which his father was taken prisoner. The premature

premature decease of this accomplished prince, whom he tenderly loved, and on whom he rested his sole hopes of enlargement, reduced him to a state of despondency.

After much anxious sollicitude by what means he could convey intelligence of his dreadful situation to his daughter the electress Palatine, and the emperor Charles V. the king prevailed upon the dwarf to counterfeit sickness, and to request that he might be removed from the prison for the recovery of his health. If he should succeed, he was to seize the first opportunity of escaping from the Danish dominions to the court of the electress, in order that she might engage the emperor to intercede with the king of Denmark for some alleviation of her father's sufferings. The dwarf accordingly feigned sickness, was transferred to the neighbouring town, eluded the vigilance of his guards, and made his escape; but was overtaken at Rendsburgh, scarcely a day's journey from the Danish confines.

Christian, frustrated in this attempt, and deprived of his faithful associate, lingered for some time without any companion; until an old soldier, worn out with the fatigues of war, voluntarily offered to share the king's imprisonment. This veteran being immured in the dungeon afforded constant amusement to the royal prisoner, by various anecdotes on the different princes and generals under whom he had enlisted, and by describing those expeditions and battles in which he had been present. And, as he had served from his earliest youth,

youth, was a person of much observation, and by nature extremely loquacious, he assisted in relieving the *tedium* of Christian's captivity. Nor did any event, scarcely the loss of his son, ever more sensibly affect the royal prisoner, than the death of this soother of his misery, who expired in the dungeon.

After continuing eleven years in his original cell, without being once permitted to quit it, he was at length, through the intercession of Charles V. removed to a commodious apartment in the same castle; was provided with suitable attendants; sometimes indulged with the liberty of visiting in the town, attending divine service in the publick church, and of hunting in the neighbouring district. Yet even this change of situation, which had been so long the sole object of his wishes, could not make him forget, that he was still a prisoner: the recollection of which affected him occasionally to such a degree, that he would, even in his most cheerful moments, suddenly burst into tears, throw himself upon the ground, utter the most bitter lamentations, and continue for some time in a state approaching to insanity.

However deservedly odious Christian II. may have appeared in the former parts of his life, yet his subsequent sufferings may be considered as a sufficient atonement; and it is a pleasing satisfaction to every human mind, that he at length seems to have recovered from his despondency, and to have acquiesced in his fate with the most perfect resignation.

At

At length, in 1546, after a confinement of sixteen years and seven months in the castle of Sonderborg, he was conveyed to the palace of Callenborg, in the Isle of Zealand; a place to which he had been particularly attached. Christian III. repaired in person to Assens, where he received his fallen rival with every mark of attention, and assured him that he should enjoy every comfort which could tend to alleviate his situation. These unusual honours, joined to his removal from a place where he had experienced so much misery, and the prospect of again inhabiting his favourite palace, excited such transports of joy, that he compared himself to a person recalled from death*.

Being conducted to Callenborg, he had the satisfaction of finding these promises religiously fulfilled. He survived this happy change ten years; and his mind had been so softened by adversity, that, old as he was, his death was said to be hastened by his afflictions for the loss of his benefactor Christian III. He died on the 24th of January, 1559, in the 78th year of his age, and in the 36th from the period of his deposition †.

April

* “Trajicientem autem in Fioniam Christianus cum fratre, qui tum Assaniæ erat ad colloquendum invitavit. Ibi habita oratio a Christiano, nonnullis senatorum presentibus, ipsius moderatione digna, quæ non erat fortunam exprobandis, aut memoriam scelerum repetentis; sed maxime studium pietatis & tolerantium intendebat. Jussusque sperare omnia, quæ ad vitam lætius & honestius tolerandam essent, si modo in fide maneret. Quibus ille non secus animo exhibetur, ac si morte extractus, novam lucem intueretur.” Craigii Annal. Christ. III. p. 324.

† These particulars of Christian the Second's life are chiefly taken from Holberg and Svaningii Vita Christiani Secundi.

April 9th, we arrived at Affens, just mentioned as the place of meeting between Christian II. and Christian III.; it stands upon the Little Belt, a strait of the Baltick, which separates the Isle of Funen from the continent. The island is about 340 miles in circumference; is remarkably fertile in pasture and grain; and exports annually to Norway barley, oats, rye, and pease. The country is open, with a gently undulating surface; and its coasts are generally flat and sandy.

The passage across the Little Belt is only nine miles; but as the wind was contrary, we were engaged five hours in performing it. We landed upon the duchy of Sleswick at Arroë-Sund, so called from the little Arroë, contiguous to the continent.

On the 11th we passed through several small, but neat towns, beautifully situated upon inlets of the Baltick; and particularly Flendsburch, a place of considerable commerce. The inhabitants possess at least 200 vessels; and carry on no inconsiderable trade to the West Indies. They traffick also to Norway, where they procure salted fish, which they carry to the Mediterranean; and bring back wines and dried fruits to Holland, Petersburg, and the ports of the Baltick.

The duchy of Sleswick, sometimes called South Jutland; is separated from Holstein, or the king of Denmark's German dominions, by the Eyder. The capital is an irregularly built town of great length, and contains about 5630 inhabitants. The houses are of brick; and, like those of all the other towns in the

country, resemble in neatness and manner of building those of Holland: the inhabitants dress also like the Dutch; and many of them speak their tongue, though the usual languages are the German and Danish.

Close to Sleswick is the old palace of Gottorp, formerly the ducal residence; at present inhabited by the stadtholder, or governor, prince Charles of Hesse-Cassel, who married Louisa princess of Denmark. It is a large brick building, surrounded by a rampart and moat: from this castle the ducal line, formed by Adolphus son of Frederick I. king of Denmark, was denominated Holstein-Gottorp, which still subsists in the person of the present great-duke of Russia.

That part of the duchy which we traversed seemed well cultivated: it was in general flat and open, but occasionally exhibited variegated landscapes of heath, arable land, and pasture, enclosed with quickset hedges, and studded at intervals with woods of beech and oak. The farm-houses had the appearance of great neatness. We passed also ranges of new cottages, lately erected for colonists at the expence of the crown. They are spacious, and resemble those of Westphalia, containing, under the same roof, a large barn, with divisions for the cattle on each side, and two rooms at the further end for the family. Each family is supplied with ploughs, carts, and other necessary implements of agriculture, two horses, and a pension during three years.

About twenty miles from Sleswick we quitted that duchy, and at Rendsburgh crossed the Eyder

Eyder into Holstein; which river is considered as forming on this side the limits of Germany; and is supposed to have been the boundary of the Roman empire: a tradition recorded in the following verse, hewn over the gate of the old town,

Eydora Romani terminus imperii.

Rendsburgh is esteemed the strongest fortress in the Danish territories. The town, which contains about 3600 inhabitants, carries on but little trade, scarcely possessing three vessels. It must soon, however, become a place of importance, as the canal of Kiel will necessarily introduce a considerable degree of commerce. The last sluice is to be constructed at Rendsburgh. The river Eyder is navigable for large vessels to within a short distance of the town, while those of inferior burden land their goods on the quays. The tide, which rises near four feet, brings sand into its channel; and floating machines are continually employed to deepen its bed.

The environs are chiefly a flat barren heath; but as we approached Kiel, the coasts gradually became hilly and more fertile. We passed between the Wetter and Flemhuder Lakes; and again crossed the Eyder, there only a small rivulet, which flows from the former into the latter, and arrived in the evening at Kiel. The district of Kiel is that portion of the duchy of Holstein, which descended to the line of Holstein-Gottorp, and belonged to Peter III. as part of his hereditary dominions. In 1773 the present empress of Russia ceded

it to the king of Denmark, in exchange for the counties of Oldenburgh and Delmenhorst, which she gave to the prince bishop of Lubeck. This exchange was very favourable to Denmark, as the king now possesses the whole duchy of Holstein; and the intended junction of the Baltick and the North Sea will be formed entirely through the Danish territories.

Kiel possesses an university for the German subjects of Denmark, which was founded in 1660 by Christian Albert duke of Holstein-Gottorp, and has lately been considerably enlarged by his present majesty. It contains 24 professors, and about 300 students.

The town stands upon a small island in a bay of the Baltick, and has a very commodious harbour for ships of the largest size. It is already one of the most commercial places of Holstein; and its trade will be still further augmented when the inland navigation across the peninsula is finished; of which I am enabled, partly from my own inspection, and partly from information obtained on the spot, to give the following description.

The inland navigation for the junction of the two seas is to be formed across the duchy of Holstein, by the canal of Kiel and the river Eyder, which passes by Rendsburgh, and falls into the German ocean at Tonningen.

The canal begins about three miles North of Kiel, at the mouth of the rivulet Lewensfaue which heretofore separated Holstein from Sleswick, and will form a new boundary between those two duchies. The distance from its beginning to the last sluice at Rendsburgh

is 27 English miles ; but as the Eyder is navigable about 6 miles and $\frac{1}{4}$ above Rendsburgh, and only requires to be deepened in some places ; the cut which is necessary for the completion of the water-communication between the two seas is only 20 miles and $\frac{1}{2}$.

The canal was begun in July, 1777 ; and in April, 1779, when I examined it, had been carried about six miles as far as Suckdorf ; and it was computed that the whole would be completed in 1784. The work was performed by contract : 1024 cubick feet * of earth were taken out for 8s. ; and the whole expence was to amount to about £200,000. Between the Flemhuder lake and the rivulet Lavens is the highest point ; on each side whereof the waters take different courses to the Baltick and German Ocean : in this part the ground must be opened to the depth of 50 feet. The perpendicular fall towards the Baltick is 25 feet 6 inches ; and that towards the Ocean 23 ; and the vessels will be raised or let down by means of the six following sluices : Holtenau, Knorp, Suckdorf, Shinkel, Niederholten, and Rendsburgh. The breadth of the cut is 100 feet at top, and 54 at bottom ; the sluices are 27 feet in breadth and 100 in length ; and the lowest depth of water 10 feet. The canal will be furnished with water as far as Steinwarp from the Eyder, and the lakes Flemhuder and Wester, and from thence to Rendsburgh by the Wetter lake, from which flows
a rivulet

* The foot used in this chapter is to the English as 21 to 22.

a rivulet that joins the Eyder. Common merchantmen of about 120 tons burden will be able to navigate this canal.

The utility of this important undertaking will be evident from a mere inspection of the map of Denmark. At present even the smallest vessels, trading from any part of the Danish dominions in the Baltick to the Northern Sea, must make a circuit round the extremity of Jutland, and are liable to be detained by opposite winds. This navigation is so tedious, that goods shipped at Copenhagen for Hamburgh are not unusually sent by sea only to Lubeck, and from thence by land to Hamburgh. But the completion of this canal will enable vessels of a certain burden to pass immediately from the Baltick into the German Ocean; proceed without unlading to Hamburgh; or sail to Holland, which, in times of war, receives great supplies of sugar, and other West Indian commodities, from Denmark.

April the 12th. After having examined the canal and town of Kiel, we continued our route, and, in about 18 miles, reached a small village beautifully seated between two lakes, in the midst of a romantick country, interspersed with several forests of beech and oak. The largest of these lakes is that of Ploen, the banks of which were adorned with the town of Ploen, the capital of the duchy, which escheated to the king of Denmark in 1761, upon the decease of the last duke Charles without issue male. The palace, formerly the ducal residence, rising in the midst of the town on
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an elegant spot of ground and overlooking the lake, was a picturesque object.

On the ensuing morning we traversed a waving and variegated country, abounding in pasture, corn, and pleasantly sprinkled with wood; and, after a few miles, we quitted his Danish majesty's dominions, and arrived about mid-day at Lubeck.

During my progress through Sweden and Denmark, I remarked, with attentive curiosity, many of those regular circles of stones which are so frequently scattered over the face, not only of these countries, but our own. According to the plan I have generally followed in the course of this work, I shall first describe those which fell under my immediate observation; and shall then throw together a few remarks upon their probable origin and destination.

In the province of West Gothland, between Kalange and Lidkioping, I observed upon the top of an hill two rude masses of red granite placed upright on each side of the high road. The tallest measured 15 feet in height, five spans and an half in breadth; the other was about 12 feet high, six spans broad, and both were no more than four inches thick.

In a plain near Runneby, in the province of Blekinge, I noted many ranges of stones set up endways, and forming various circles, all of which plainly referred to one general disposition. I counted at least ten of these circles; and among the most perfect, one of eight stones, whose diameter measured five paces, and another of ten, whose diameter was seven;

seven; the generality were from two to four feet in height, and the highest did not exceed ten.

Again, close to Skillinge, the nearest post to Carlscrona, are several similar remains upon a rocky eminence, which consist of many oval or circular ranges: the greatest part were in their rough state; a few were hewn flat and broad, and others somewhat resembled pillars pointed at top in the rudest manner. At the summit of the rock several concentrick ranges enclosed a space of about ten feet diameter, in the center of which stood two flat stones scarcely three feet in height, placed edgeways, and between them was the lower part of a withered trunk, the remains of a tree, which had once flourished in that spot. It appeared to me like an oak; and a person attached to the hypothesis that such circles of stone are druidical relicks, might, with a small degree of enthusiasm, have considered this very tree as the central oak, if he could suppose that the religion of the Druids was ever established in these Northern kingdoms. The largest of these stones was about 12 feet in height. On the southern side of the same village were similar monuments of antiquity, the highest of which measured 18 feet; and we continually observed remains of the same through Sweden.

In the Danish isles, as well as in Sleswick and Holstein, these circles occurred no less frequently than in Sweden; but none of the stones were of any size, few which fell under my observation exceeding six or seven feet; and the greatest part were not more than
two

two or three in height. In some parts I also noticed two placed edgeways, and upon them an unformed mass of stone laid in an horizontal position. One of these monuments is thus described in colonel Floyd's Journal.

“ About three or four English miles from
 “ Corsoer, at the extremity of a wood, stand-
 “ ing on a promontory, I found one of the
 “ most perfect of those antient monuments.
 “ I observed a large mound of earth, on the
 “ summit of which large conical granite stones,
 “ standing at small intervals from each other,
 “ enclosed an oval space of a very consider-
 “ able extent. In the center and highest
 “ point, a huge, shapeless mass of granite
 “ was laid horizontally on four other stones,
 “ almost buried beneath the surface of the
 “ ground. Near it was another mound, on
 “ the top of which another large stone was
 “ placed in a similar manner on four others.
 “ I remarked some vestiges of trenches; but
 “ as the place was covered with underwood,
 “ and as night approached, I could not trace
 “ their direction.”

In answer to many inquiries in several parts of Sweden, concerning the origin of these antient relicks, the peasants called them Gothick stones; and it seems to be a general tradition amongst them, that they were erected by the Goths, whom they represented as a race of giants formerly inhabiting these countries. I shall here take notice, that we have many similar monuments in our islands; and particularly that the Rol-rich stones near Burford in Oxfordshire, the Snake's Head of Overton Temple,

Temple, as described by Stukeley* ; some of those which are delineated in Borlase's Antiquities of Cornwall ; and that circular range in Cumberland, of which Mr. Pennant† has given an engraving in his Tour to Scotland, seem to approach nearest in their general appearance to those which I observed in Sweden and Denmark. . I cannot, however, but add, that Olaus Wormius, and other authors, highly exaggerate when they deduce any resemblance between the stupendous fabrick of Stone Henge, and these trifling, though genuine, remains of high antiquity ; and still more erroneous in concluding, from that fanciful resemblance, that Stone Henge ‡ was constructed

* Stukeley's Abury, p. 4. Tab. III. p. 40. & Tab. XXI.

† Tour into Scotland.

‡ It is curious to trace the different systems which have been framed concerning the origin of Stone Henge ; and to observe upon what vague and uncertain principles each author has founded his hypothesis.

The celebrated architect, Inigo Jones, in a work entitled, " Stone Henge restored," endeavours to ascertain, but without sufficient proofs, that it was a Roman temple consecrated to Coelum, and constructed between the times of Agricola and Constantine the Great.—Dr. Charleton, on the contrary, in his " Stone Henge restored to the Danes," entirely overturns the system of Inigo Jones ; and contends with more ingenuity than argument, that it was built in the beginning of Alfred's reign by the Danes, who over-ran great part of England, as a place for the election of their kings.

John Webb, Esq. in " A Vindication of Stone Henge restored," refutes, with much learning, the opinion of Dr. Charleton, but fails in re-establishing the system of Inigo Jones. Some suppose it to have been erected in memory of 460 Britons massacred by Hengist ; a chimerical notion, arising merely from a similarity of the words Henge and Hengist ; others that it was raised in honour of Aurelius Ambrosius, the last British king ; and a few, that it was a sepulchral monument of Bonduca, by the Old Britons.

constructed by our Anglo-Saxon ancestors, who migrated from these Northern parts.

Endless controversies have arisen among the learned concerning their origin and destination; and each author maintains that they were raised by that particular nation, or sect, as best suits his favourite hypothesis. Thus they are styled by different authors, Celtick, Cambrian, Gothick, Danish*, Saxon, Pictick; and by others have been solely attributed to the Druids, a favourite order of men, under whom we are too apt to shelter our ignorance.

Although these rude monuments are undoubtedly of such high antiquity as almost to baffle our inquiries; yet we may infer, from historical evidence, that they do not at all appear to have had the same original destination: some were raised as memorials of material events; others as sepulchres; but the greatest

Dr. Stukeley, in his elaborate treatise on Stone Henge, has amply overturned all these systems of former writers; but is not equally successful in establishing his favourite position, that it was a Druidical temple.

In a word, all that can be collected from a diligent examination of the several systems, is, that it is a monument of very high antiquity, far beyond the reach of history or tradition; and that there are no sufficient data by which any certain opinion can be formed of its origin.

* Olaus Wormius, in the true spirit of national prejudice, supposes all these monuments to have been erected by the Danes, because great numbers are found in Denmark; upon which assertion, Stukeley observes, that their being in Denmark does not prove them to have been founded by the Danes, as they existed in that country long before any mention is made in history of the Danes; but they must have been raised before that people occupied the Northern isles, by the Cimbrians, or Goths [ot old; and if not by them, by whom is not known from story.

greatest part were probably places, or objects †, of sacred worship.

In the earlier ages of the world we find that stones were erected for all these purposes, and by different nations; but as it would be tedious to enumerate the several proofs of the assertion, I must refer the reader to Borlase's *Dissertations upon similar monuments existing in our own country*, as the most able writing upon this subject. How can we possibly confine to any particular nation, or religion, customs used indiscriminately by all in remote periods; or how can we assign their epoch, since most of them were either raised before the Christian æra, or preceded the introduction of the Gospel into those parts, when no certain tradition or literary records were extant, to ascertain their origin?

† Many instances of the worshipping of stones occur among the antient Pagans; and it appears that some were held no less sacred in these Northern regions. Among other proofs is the following of one, which was worshipped at Gilia, in Iceland, before the introduction of Christianity.

"In Gilia lapis, quem majores eorum religiose coluerant, utpote a genio suo tutelari inhabitari tradentes." *Kristni Saga*, p. 13.



APPENDIX.

A P P E N D I X.

N^o I.

Articles of the New Form of Government
established in Sweden at the Revolution
of MDCCLXXII.

The following form of government is an exact transcript of that which was translated into English, by order of his Swedish Majesty, from the original, and printed for the use of the English Merchants resident at Stockholm. Although it contains several expressions and phrases not perfectly consonant to the idiom of the English language, yet, as it is a state-paper of great consequence, I thought it more advisable to print it in its present form, than to new-model the style; particularly as there are very few expressions, the meaning of which can be doubted. The reader will, therefore, excuse any trifling errors in the style, or orthography; and not impute them to any negligence in the author.

WE, GUSTAVUS, by the grace of God, king of Sweden, Goths, and Vandals, &c. &c. &c. heir of Norway, duke of Schleswig, Holstein, &c. &c. make it known, that whereas, from the beginning of Our reign, We uninterruptedly have endeavoured to employ Our royal power and authority to promote the advancement, strength, and welfare of this realm, as well as the improvement, safety, and happiness of Our loyal subjects;
and

and that, in order to obtain this end, We have found, that the present situation of the country requires an unavoidable amendment of the Fundamental Laws, adapted to the above-mentioned salutary purpose, and therefore, after the most exact and mature deliberation and reflection, We have drawn up a form of government, which the States of the realm now assembled unanimously have received and sworn to; which form of government, so agreed to by the states, We graciously have been pleased, by these presents, to approve and confirm, according to its literal sense, in the form and manner following.

We, the under-written Senators and States of the kingdom of Sweden, counts, barons, bishops, knights and nobility, clergy, chiefs of the militia, deputies of the towns and peasantry, here assembled in behalf of ourselves and our fellow-subjects at home, make it known, that whereas We, by a sad experience have found, that, under the name of the blessed Liberty, several of our fellow-subjects have formed an Aristocracy, so much more intolerable, as it hath been framed under licentiousness, fortified by self-interest and severities, and finally supported by foreign powers, to the detriment of the whole society, and which hath brought us in the utmost insecurity by the wrong interpretation of the law, and at last might have led the kingdom, our dear native country, to the dreadful fate, which the history of former times, and the example of our neighbours, hath laid before us, had not the spirit of zealous citizens, and their love to the country supported by the zeal and achievements of the High and Puissant Prince and Lord Gustavus III. King of Sweden, Goths, and Vandals, our most Gracious Sovereign, saved and drawn us out of it; so that we have turned our thoughts upon fortifying our liberty, in a manner, that it may not be abused by a bold enterprizing ruler, nor by ambitious, self-interested, and treacherous citizens, or spiteful and haughty enemies; but that the old kingdom of Sweden and Gothia for ever may be a free and independent realm: therefore we have granted and confirmed, as we, by these presents, declare and assert this form of government to be an unchangeable and sacred fundamental Law, which we, for us and our posterity, born and unborn, promise to obey and keep, after its literal sense; and deem those to be enemies to us and the kingdom, that would persuade us to deviate therefrom, as it, word for word, here follows:

I. Unanimity

I. Unanimity in religion, and the true divine worship, is the surest basis of a lawful, concordant, and stable government ; and therefore the king, and all the officers and subjects of the realm, shall, hereafter as hitherto, first and foremost be addicted to the pure and evident word of God, as it is revealed in the Prophetical and Apostolick Writings, explained in the Christian Symbols, the Catechism of Luther, and the unvaried Confession of Augsbург, and confirmed by the Council of Upsala, and the former Decrees and Declarations of the States, in order that the right of the church may be strengthened, but without any prejudice to the rights of the king, of the crown, or of the whole Swedish people.

II. The king is intitled to rule his realm as the law of Sweden says, he and no other, to fortify, love and keep justice and truth ; but forbid, abolish, and destroy unrighteousness and injury ; not to ruin any man as to his life and honour, body or welfare, unless he be lawfully convicted and judged, nor to distrain, or suffer to be distrained, from any man his goods, moveable and unmoveable, without lawful trial and judgement, and to rule the kingdom according to the chapter of the law concerning the king's prerogative, the Swedish law, and this form of government.

III. The order of succession to the crown subsists intirely as it is established in the Act of Inheritance, settled at Stockholm Anno Domini 1543, in conformity to the like Act of Westeras, Anno Domini 1544, and the Decree of Norrköping, Anno Domini 1604.

IV. Next to the king's majesty, the greatest respect hath been of old, and shall be hereafter, paid to the senators of the realm ; and them the king alone creates and elects of native Swedish knighthood and nobility, bound to his majesty by fidelity, loyalty, and allegiance : and though they cannot be determined to a fixt number, because so many may be constituted as the need and dignity of the kingdom requires ; yet they ordinarily ought to be seventeen, inclusive of the high officers of the realm, and the lord-lieutenant of Pomerania. The chief care of all these shall be to advise his majesty in all the important affairs and concerns of the kingdom, whenever it pleaseth his majesty to consult them ; to assert all rights of the realm, to advise all that is most advantageous for him and for the kingdom, after the best of their judgement ; to influence the states and the people to loyalty and willingness ; to be careful of the right, majesty, independency, advantage, and flourishing state of the

the king and the realm : and thus, according to what the Decree of the Diet of the year 1602 says, advise, as their duty demands, but not rule. For the rest, the senators are bound to the king alone, and answerable to him only for their counsels ; yet the king cannot reproach or impute to them any bad success, which may happen against their suffrages, expectations, thoughts, and opinions, formed upon good reasons, especially if the execution of good counsels does not reach the proposed aim, by the fault of him to whom it is enjoined and commanded to perform and execute them.

V. The king is intitled to govern and rule, save and protect towns and countries, and all the rights appertaining to him and to the crown, according to the law and this form of government.

VI. Whereas the negotiations of peace, truces, and alliances, offensive and defensive, seldom bear the least delay, and necessarily require the greatest secrecy, his majesty therefore consults with the senators in those important matters, and, having pondered and collected their suffrages, takes such measures and expedients, as he himself thinks to be the best and most useful for the kingdom ; yet if, in those important matters, the senate should prove unanimous in an opinion, opposite to his majesty's, then his majesty yields to their sentiment ; but if the advices should prove different, then his majesty decides, and approves of that opinion which he himself thinks the best and most advantageous.

VII. If the king is a foreigner, he may not go out of his kingdom without the knowledge and consent of the states of the realm ; but if he is a native Swede, then he only needs to communicate his resolution to the senate, and perceive its advice, in the manner set down in the foregoing VI.

VIII. And that all occurring business may be performed, by his majesty, with the more activity and order, the affairs are to be divided between the senators in the manner his majesty thinks most useful and proper ; his majesty, as the head of the kingdom, only being accountable to God and the country for his ruling it ; and in all these affairs, when his majesty hath collected the opinions of the senators, who are acquainted with those matters, and called by his majesty to ponder them, his majesty hath the decisive voice ; yet herefrom shall be excepted all the juridical cases judged at the King's benches, courts martial, or any other of the tribunals in the kingdom, and which come in the last instance

to the final decision of the high revision of justice, which always consists of seven senators, that have been employed in juridical offices, and are reputed to be just and skilled in the law, and where his majesty himself hereafter, as before, is present, having there but two voices, and, when the opinions prove even, the decisive vote.

IX. It appertains to the king's majesty alone to do acts of grace, and to give pardon, to restore honour, life, and goods, in all crimes, which are not evidently contrary to the holy word of God.

X. All the higher offices, from lieutenant-colonel to field-marshal, both inclusive, and all their equals in the ecclesiastical and civil order, are in the king's gift, in the sitting of the senate, after the following wise: when a place is vacant, the senators ought to take notice of the capacity and merits of all persons that sue for such places, and who may come into consideration, and make report thereof to his majesty; and his majesty, having in the senate indicated the person who is come in his gracious remembrance to be advanced to the same place, the senators give their considerations thereupon in the Protocol, but without any further votation. To all other employments the colleges, and other persons concerned, propose to his majesty three persons of the most skilled, worthiest, and best qualified for the vacant place, that are to be found; on which occasion, somebody or other of merit, besides those of the college, may be remembered; and all others that seek for the preferment, and are competent, may be named. In the regiments, the proposal to the vacant post is to be made according to the statute of King Charles XII. of the 6th November, 1716. If, in the proposing, any man should be found to be injured, and without reason neglected, the respective persons concerned shall be accountable for it. Out of the soliciting persons his majesty chuseth him that he thinks the most qualified. But all the other lower offices, of which the colleges, chapters, and colonels of the regiments, as well as other bodies, before the year 1680, have been used to dispose, may be now and hereafter in their particular gift. Foreigners, being princes or other persons, may not hereafter be employed in the commissions of the crown, neither in the civil nor military state, except in his majesty's court, if they be not by eminent and great qualities able to do signal honour and notable service to the kingdom. To all these places ability and experience shall only open the way, without any regard to favour or birth when they are not accompanied with merit.

The election of the arch-bishop, bishops, and superintendants, shall proceed after the former custom, and his majesty alone nominates one of the three who are proposed to him by the persons concerned. The preferment of the pastors of parishes shall be entirely according to the form of government of the year 1720, and other statutes concerning these affairs enacted after that time.

XI. The king alone is entitled to ennoble those that by loyalty, virtue, valour, learning, and experience, have made themselves well deserving of the king and the country; but whereas there is a great multitude of noblemen in Sweden, his majesty vouchsafes to restrain this number to one hundred and fifty: and the order of nobles may not deny introduction to these one hundred and fifty new families: likewise the nobility may not deny introduction to the noblemen his majesty will create counts or barons, and who by great and eminent merits have deserved it.

XII. All affairs, here above not excepted, are to be reported to his majesty in his cabinet; or in one of the divisions in the senate, when his majesty thinks it more proper; or, if his majesty should be pleased, to advise with a greater number of senators; but in that case they shall always be deemed to have been proposed in the cabinet.

XIII. The realm being large, and the affairs many, and of greater importance than that the king alone can be able to examine and clear them all, he needs officers and governors to assist him.

XIV. For the diligent attendance, performance, and expedition of the affairs, certain colleges are instituted, who, like the arms of the body, extend their care to all that is to be done and executed in the kingdom. They have right and power, every one in their functions, in the name of the king, and in what relates to their charges and office, to command the officers under them, and to keep them, who are under their care and direction, to the performance of their duty, to demand account of their expeditions, and to give his majesty all necessary and desired notice, as well of those as their own business.

XV. In the King's Bench, which is the king's highest court of judicature, is to be one president, who, by learning and skill in the law, has made himself a qualified judge; and has, for his assistants, one vice-president, and the usual counsellors and assessors of the King's Bench. These high tribunals, every one in their place, have inspection and care that justice may be accountably and well administered, according

ding to law and established statutes; which, without misinterpreting, must be observed and kept in the judgements after the true and literal sense; insomuch, that the courts of King's Bench, without profit, self-interest, or other considerations, do justice to every body, as they shall be answerable before God and the king, lest unrighteousness might ruin the land and the kingdom. A nobleman may never, in arraignments of capital causes, be judged in any other court than that of the King's Bench, intirely as the privileges and statute relating to law-suits of the year 1615 prescribes and commands; yet the trial may be made *in loco*, and no other criminal cases than those touching life and honour be brought thither. It appertains likewise to the King's Bench to have a narrow inspection over the inferior judges in the cities and country, as well as executors; and when any thing is done by them out of imprudence, blundering, or avarice, they must immediately be sued, judged, and punished as the case requires; but if any of them should be convicted of having wilfully, out of hatred, malignity, or for bribes, wronged the justice, and thus wounded his conscience, and damaged his fellow-subject on his life, honour, and welfare, such a one shall not be punished with fines, or removal from his place, but with loss of his life and honour, and, according to the case, pay for his malice and mischievousness, intirely after the Swedish law. Nor may such misdemeanors be hushed up or countenanced by indulgence or unseasonable mercy, lest, in so grave matters, others may be induced to a licentious abuse of justice, when they perceive, that, upon the offence, forfeiture and damage, due censure and well-deserved punishment does not follow. On the contrary, they who, out of malice, rashness, and revenge, fall upon the judges and executors of the law, in the performance of their offices, with calumnious, slandering, and injurious words and writings, without being able fully to prove what they have charged them with, shall be immediately and severely punished, as every particular case may require; in order that inconsiderate, malicious, and mischievous persons may take warning thereat: but nobody, whosoever he is, shall be for a long while kept in prison without being put to a trial and judgement. And, in order that need and distress may not give the judge an occasion and pretence to abuse his office, the lawman's-judge and session-money, granted by the peasantry to the maintenance of their judges, shall be kept untouched, and employed to its duend, and the pay of the judges, after the annual list, exactly

according to the assurance of King Gustavus Adolphus, of blessed memory, in the year 1611. The king's attornies and serjeants at law may not exercise their offices to the injury of others, and promoting their own self-interest: and if this should happen, they shall be accountable for it according to law; of which the chancellor of justice shall have a narrow inspection, his incumbent duty it is likewise, to see how the law and the ordinances are obeyed, and give an account thereof to his majesty. The above-mentioned King's Benches shall, hereafter as hitherto, be three: the first at Stockholm, whereto appertains the whole kingdom of Sweden, properly so called in the old law; the second is always at Ionkoping, whereto belongs the whole kingdom of Gothia; and the third has its seat at Abo, to which the Great Dutchy of Finland resorts.

XVI. All commissions, deputations with jurisdiction, or extraordinary tribunals, either established by the king or the states, shall be hereafter abolished, as being the means to further sovereignty or tyranny; and every Swedish man shall enjoy the right to be judged by that court to which he belongs, after the law of Sweden: but if it should happen, that any of so high a birth, or the senators, or a whole college, should prove guilty of so high crimes and misdemeanors, that it concerns the king, the realm, or the majesty of the crown, and that the criminal could not be judged neither by the King's Bench, nor by the senate, then a tribunal of the realm shall be constituted, where the king shall be present, or in his place the prince royal shall preside, or the first of the hereditary princes, or the eldest senator; and whose members are to be all the senators, the field-marshal, all the presidents of the royal colleges, four of the eldest counsellors of the three King's Benches, one general, two of the eldest lieutenant-generals, two of the eldest major-generals, the eldest admiral, the two eldest vice-admirals, the two eldest rear-admirals, the chancellor of the court, and the three secretaries of state; the chancellor of justice is always solicitor; and the eldest secretary of revision shall keep the minutes. This tribunal is intituled, the trial past, to publish the judgement with the doors open, and nobody may afterwards have power to alter it, and much less to make it more severe: his majesty not deprived of his prerogative to pardon.

XVII. Next to the King's Benches follows the Military College, where now, as before, is to be a president, the master of ordnance, the quarter-master-general, and the wonted counsellors of war, who must be well used to accounts, and
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are especially to be taken out of those that are skilled in matters of war. This college has inspection and care of the land army in the kingdom, the artillery, used both in the field and in the fortresses, the body of fortification, guns, factories, weapons, ammunitions, and what belong thereunto, the condition of the fortresses, especially at the frontiers, castles, and building for the war, the levying, enlisting, and reviewing of soldiers; and so further, according to the instructions, ordinances, and royal writs, as are already, or may hereafter be issued.

XVIII. The whole land army and navy of the kingdom, with the high and low commanders thereof, shall take the oath of fidelity and allegiance to his majesty, the realm, and the states, according to the established form. The army of horse and foot, as well as the mariners, continues, as it is appointed, according to the sanction, called *Indelnings-Werk*, and is to be maintained by the contracts made with the peasantry and the towns, which are to be narrowly performed, obeyed, and kept, until his majesty, with the states, shall find it necessary to alter them in any way.

XIX. No colonel, or any other of the military commanders, may, without his majesty's own order, summon any home-sent troops to assemble, excepted the usual rendezvous of the regiments, unless in case of an unexpected invasion of the enemies of the kingdom, which shall then be instantly reported to his majesty; the chief command belonging to him alone over his whole army and navy, as it has always been usual in former, and for the country the most flourishing and happy times.

XX. The third college of the realm is the Board of Admiralty wherein is to be a president, and the members are to be all the admirals and flag-officers present; but for the better managing of these affairs, in his majesty's council there shall be at least one senator who hath served in the navy, and is experienced in the marine. This college has the inspection and care of the navy of the realm, with all things thereto belonging, as well the building of the ships, their equipping and furnishing with guns, as the victualling, the raising of the marines, the company of divers, the pilotry, and all other business thereto belonging, according to the instructions, royal writs, and ordinances, as are already, or may hereafter be issued.

XXI. The fourth college is the Chancery of the realm, where one of the senators always is president, having, as members, one or more of the senators, one chancellor of the court, the secretaries of state, and the usual counsellors of chancery.

chancery. In this college, all the statutes, ordinances, and recesses, concerning the kingdom in general, and the privileges of particular towns and persons, are framed and penned, especially commissions for places, edicts, writs, and warrants: hereto belong likewise all the records and rolls of the diets and other assemblies, alliances with foreign powers, treaties of peace with enemies, the due dispatching of envoys, all the counsels the king ordinarily takes from the senators, or some of them, and the records thereof, as well as all what is issued under his majesty's name and seal. This college has likewise the necessary care for the post-offices in the whole kingdom and the adjacent provinces, in order that they, under the inspection of the chief director, may be duly administered. The secretaries of state are to take particular care that the resolutions, according to his majesty's decision, and in conformity with the records, may be readily and speedily, duly, and in good order, issued, without the least neglect, in what view soever it might be. Should any person prove so rash as to issue a warrant, contrary to his majesty's decision, and therewith endeavour to surprize his majesty, (which, in such a multitude of expeditions, easily might happen) the same person shall, after trial and lawful judgement, be removed from his place, and punished as the crime deserves. Nor shall, therefore, any warrant be hereafter, more than hitherto, obeyed and executed, without due countersignature, except in military affairs. This college is besides to follow the ordinance of the chancery, the instructions, writs, and royal statutes, which are already, or may hereafter be issued.

XXII. His majesty denominates in the senate, but without voting, the president of the chancery, the counsellors of chancery that are senators, the chancellor of the court, the chancellor of justice, the secretaries of state, the counsellors of chancery, as well as the secretaries of expeditions, and chuses them to whom his majesty has the best trust. In the same manner his majesty's envoys to foreign courts are to be constituted.

XXIII. The fifth college of the realm is the College of the Chamber, which has a president and the usual counsellors of the chambers. There all who have any business with the income and expences of the king and crown, are to receive their order and give their accounts, according to the instructions, writs and ordinances, hitherto issued, or which may hereafter be enacted. The care and endeavour of this college shall be to see that the rents and taxes be
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duly and seasonably gathered and increased, the ground well cultivated and improved by a good tillage and husbandry, in order that the *Regalia Fisci* may not be neglected, forfeited, and purloined; but the substance of the realm by all means amended, adapted to the expences, kept in order, and in due time received, so that the publick credit may not be lost; but that his majesty, in case of need, can depend upon aid and assistance as well within the kingdom as abroad. The great custom-house, with its receipt and accounts, as well as the petty land-tolls and the excise, appertain likewise, under the inspection of a chief director, to the care of the college of the chamber, wher ecommiffions are to be given to the respective custom-house-officers and gatherers, and due security for his majesty to be observed.

XXIV. In the Exchequer is to be a president and the usual commissioners of the Exchequer. Hereunto belongs the disposition and distribution of the cash of the crown; and here likewise every one that handles the king's money, in due time ought to come in with their accounts (*Færslag*) according to what their instructions ordain. The estimates must also in due time every year be settled, and thereby the establishment, or list of the year 1696, be the basis and rule; and care be taken, that the officers may be paid out of the incomes and coffers of the crown. But the aforesaid list may not be exceeded or augmented, should not the unavoidable service and interest of the king and the kingdom require it. In the list shall not only subsist the determined sum for his majesty's privy purse, which always is left to his majesty's particular will and disposition, but also a sum annually to be appropriated to extraordinary issues, and managed after his majesty's underwritten and countersigned order: the whole, according to the instructions, writ, and ordinances, as are already, or may hereafter be enacted.

XXV. His majesty denominates in the senate, but without voting, the president and the commissioners of the Exchequer, out of such persons as, by faithfulness and skill in this interesting matter, have proved themselves worthy of his majesty's trust.

XXVI. The College of the Mines shall likewise have a president and the usual counsellors and assessors; all such persons, who by learning and experience have made themselves qualified to be officers of judicature, and also have acquired a solid knowledge in metallurgick matters, and all the sciences thereto belonging. This college has inspection
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and care of all what concerns the rise and improvement of the mines and forges.

XXVII. The College of Commerce has also a president, the usual counsellors, assessors and commissioners, who have a consummate knowledge in the matters of commerce and trade. It is the incumbent duty of this college to take care that the commerce may prosper and increase, that the manufactures may be supported, the work-houses well regulated and maintained, and duty, (Licent) portory, custom-ordinances and taxes observed; over and above what instructions, writs, and statutes, as are at present prescribed, or hereafter shall be ordained.

XXVIII. The Revision of the Chamber must likewise have a president, who, with the usual members, takes care, not only that all juridical affairs, there depending, may be lawfully judged and executed by the serjeants at law, but also that the annual accounts of the crown, without any delay, from that very time they are sent to the Royal College of the Chamber, and the Revision of the Chamber takes notice thereof, may be surveyed, explained, elaborated, and finally decided; all according to the instructions, writs, and ordinances, which are already, or may hereafter be issued.

XXIX. The Lord High Steward of the Realm is one of the Senators, in whose inspection his majesty's court, palace, and household are, and who rules, keeps and takes care of his table and servants of the court, with all what thereto belongs.

XXX. His Majesty's Court and Household is to be at his own peculiar disposition; his majesty alone being able to alter, change, and reform whatever he should find necessary.

XXXI. The grand governor (Ofver-Ståthallare) of Stockholm, the captain-lieutenant, lieutenant and quarter-master of the life-guard-man, the colonel and lieutenant-colonel of the foot-guard, and also the colonel of the horse-guard, the colonel of the life-dragoons, the colonel and lieutenant-colonel of the artillery, the general-adjutants and the commandants of the frontier towns, are all charges of trust, which his majesty grants or recalls in fitting senate, yet without voting.

XXXII. All the colleges are bound to assist each other in all what can be conducive to the good and emolument of the king and the kingdom, whenever it shall be required and necessary: yet one college must not incroach, or do any hindrance and prejudice to the other; but each attend to its business

business with due activity, care, sedulity, faith, and prudence. The presidents, when they are present in their colleges, enjoy their due power and authority; but when they are absent in the king's, or their own private affairs, although they then keep the title and honour due to their quality, yet they cannot order, dispose, and command any thing that belongs to the charge of presidents, till they shall return and be seated in their regular function. During their absence, the eldest member of the college performs, with equal right, authority, and effect, all what is adherent to the charge. The colleges are accountable to the king for their behaviour when he requires, and shall answer nobody but him alone for their administration.

XXXIII. The regency of the provinces is established in certain governments just as they now are constituted; so that there never, for the future, shall be any general-governor in this realm, if not on a very peculiar emergency, and then for a short time; also shall there no appanage, province, or government be bestowed; but the provinces shall be divided in the same governments they now, according to the Form of Regency de Anno 1720, actually are.

XXXIV. The prince heir apparent to the crown of Sweden, and also the princes of the royal Swedish blood, cannot have any appanage, or general-government, but must depend upon such annual allowance that can be allotted them from the Exchequer, which money, for the hereditary princes, must not be less than one hundred thousand dollars S. mt. * from the day they shall be declared of age, which is at twenty-one years. The princes of the Swedish blood, who are more distant from the crown, shall have such an annual pension for their maintainance, as can be convenient and suitable to their birth. Yet they can be distinguished with the titles of duchties, as in old times has been in fashion; but without any right to those provinces whose name they bear, which always shall be incorporated under one head and ruler, without diminution or separation.

XXXV. Concerning the sustenance of the prince royal, who always is the reigning king, his eldest son, or grandson, in a direct descending line, it must be bestowed in the same manner as established for the late king Adolphus Friedrichus his son's, our now reigning most gracious king's Gustavus's the III. annual maintainance. And when he is

* About £4166.

come to the age of eighteen years, he shall be admitted into the council of the king.

XXXVI. No prince of the Swedish blood, although he may be prince royal, or hereditary prince, or of a more distant line, may marry without the king's knowledge and consent. In the case any one should contravene, he shall be judged after the Swedish law, and the children be disinherited.

XXXVII. The king being sick, or absent upon a long journey, then the regency is to be administered by those of the senate, whom the king has denominated for that purpose: but if the king should fall sick so suddenly that he cannot give any orders how the affairs of the realm should be managed, then all the warrants and decrees are to be signed by the four eldest senators and the president of the chancery: these five together are to exercise the royal power in all affairs that require a quick dispatch; but they are not intitled to denomination of employments, nor to conclude alliances, before the king being so restored to health, that he himself can take in hands the affairs of government; and then these shall be accountable to the king how business has been dispatched. But if the king dies, and the prince royal is under age, then the government of the realm is to be administered in the manner above-mentioned, unless that the late king had made any testamentary disposition; in which case it shall be according to the king's said testament.

XXXVIII. The states of the realm must not fail to convene, when called by the king, on time and place indicated, there to consult with his majesty on such affairs, whereabout his majesty desires their meeting. Nobody else but the king alone shall have the power to call the states to a public diet, except in the minority of the king; then the tutors * exercise this power. But if the crown should happen to be vacant by the extinction of the whole royal family on the male side (for which sad event the gracious God beware!), then the states of the kingdom are bound, without any convocation, on the 30th day after the death of the king, of themselves to meet at Stockholm, according to our act of convention, de dato Junii 23d, 1743; which act also expresses the penalty on whosoever in that case should endeavour, with practices and conspiracies, to incroach upon the free election of the states. In that unhappy event, it is incum-

* Guardians.

bent on the wardens of the house of nobles, the chapter of Upsala, and the court of magistrates at Stockholm, instantly to publish it in all the provinces, for the knowledge of all who are concerned: and whereas the provincial governors then are obliged, each in his territory, to make known the demise of the king to all the inhabitants, it is expected, that so many will be present before the appointed time, that they may be able to save and defend the liberty of the country, and a new successor to the crown be chosen.

XXXIX. The states of the kingdom are bound, with faithful concern, to leave intemperate all the royal prerogatives, after the dictates of the Swedish law, so that they shall be kept in their full vigour and strength, in order that all what in such manner appertains to the royal authority shall be zealously and carefully maintained, defended, and strengthened; wherefore, nothing of these fundamental laws is to be reformed, augmented, or diminished, without the concert and agreement of the king, on purpose that no unlawfulness might render invalid the enacted law, or the liberty of the subjects, together with the king's rights, be invaded and subdued; but each be in possession of his due rights and privileges: to that end all the statutes, from the year 1680 till this present time, which have been considered as fundamental laws, in virtue of this, shall be abrogated and rejected.

XL. The king shall have no power to make new laws without the knowledge and assent of the states, nor abrogate an old one received formerly.

XLI. The states shall have no power to abrogate old laws, nor to make new ones, without the king's consent and approbation.

XLII. When a new law is to be settled, the following method shall be observed: if the states of the realm wish for a new statute, then they are to consult among themselves, and, after they are come to agreement, the project is to be presented to his majesty by their four speakers, for to perceive the king's sentiment. His majesty thereupon asks the advice of the senate; and when he himself has pondered it, and fixed his resolution, he calls the states to publick meeting in the Great-Hall (Riks-Salen), and gives them, in a short speech, his consent and agreement, or else the reasons for his refusal. But if the king should propose a new law, he is at first to communicate it to the senate; and when the senators have given their advice to the protocol, the whole

whole matter is to be delivered to the states, who, after having consulted, and come to an agreement amongst themselves, ask for a day to present their consent to his majesty in the Great-Hall : but if it happens to be a refusal, then they deliver their reasons for it in writing by their four speakers.

XLIII. If there should be raised some new question about the true meaning of the law, as in former times frequently has happened, then it shall be decided in the same manner as in the 42d article here above is enacted.

XLIV. Although it always is an appurtenance to the Crown to coin money, yet the states have reserved themselves, when any raising or debasing of the standard, or intrinsic value, should be designed or undertaken, that such a reformation shall not come to pass without their knowledge and agreement.

XLV. The king is to defend and save the country, particularly from foreign and hostile invasion ; but he cannot against the tenor of the law, his royal oath and assurance, levy any aids for war, new taxes, enrolling of men, or other duties, without the knowledge of the states and their free will and consent : yet, that unhappy case excepted, when the kingdom should be attacked by an army, then his majesty has power to take such measures, for the security of the realm, as he shall judge convenient for the good of his subjects; but as soon as the war is finished, the states must be called, and the new taxes in behalf of the war quite abolished.

XLVI. The assemblies of the states are not to subsist longer than at most three months: and in order to avoid that the country being aggrieved by the expences of long diets, as has happened heretofore, the king is empowered, after that time, to dissolve the assembly, and send away the deputies each to his own home ; and if, in the like occasion, no new subsidies were granted, the old ones then are to subsist.

XLVII. The states are entitled to denominate and chuse the persons who are to be seated in those committees, with which the king will please to consult about such business as he designs shall be kept secret. These members are invested with all that right and authority which appertains to the states themselves : but all matters that can be published shall be communicated to the states, and imparted to their deliberation.

XLVIII.

XLVIII. The king has no power to wage war without assent and agreement of the states.

XLIX. No other minutes, but of such affairs that have been under the deliberation of the king with the states, can be required or delivered to them.

L. The state and condition of the Exchequer shall be laid open before the states of the realm, in order to take cognizance that the publick money has been spent to the good and welfare of the country.

LI. If a member of the states, during the diet, or on his journey to or from the diets, should be injured and wronged with words and deeds, when he has made known that he is in that quality and business, it shall be punished as a breach of the king's peace.

LII. His majesty assures to maintain all the states of the kingdom in their duly acquired old privileges, immunities, rights, and liberties: and also, no new privileges for any one of the states, without the knowledge, advice, and consent of all the four states, shall be given or imparted.

LIII. To his majesty's gracious care alone the German provinces are left, that they may be governed according to the Laws of the empire, and the tenor of the treaty of Westphaly.

LIV. The cities and towns of the kingdom are to remain in their duly acquired privileges and rights, which were granted and given them by former kings; yet so, that they are to be fitted and adapted to the circumstances of the times, for the good and advantage of the commonwealth.

LV. The bank of the states is to remain hereafter as before, under their guarantee, and at their own disposition, so that it is to be administered according to the rules and statutes already enacted, or such as the states will establish for the future.

LVI. The cash of pensions belonging to the army shall remain, according to the ordinances already confirmed, or such as his majesty, with the faithful military commanders and deputies from the regiments, will agree to.

LVII. If this Law in any point should be found obscure, the literal contents must be observed, till the king and the states, in the manner expressed hereabove, articles XXXIX. and XLII. shall agree upon the true sense.

All this, We, now here assembled States, have judged necessary for the regular government of the realm, our liberty and security, to ratify and enact for us, our absent fellow-subjects, our posterity born and unborn. We declare and protest

protest hereby anew, that we bear the greatest abhorrence to a king's despotick power, or the so-called sovereignty; deeming that our highest felicity, honour, and advantage, to be and dwell free and self-independent, law-giving, but law-observing states, under the sway of a king in power, but bound to the law; both of us tied together and protected by the law, who preserves us and our dear country from the dangers which are the sad effects of disorder, licentiousness, despotism, and an Aristocratick government of many, to the detriment of the whole society, and to the grievance and distress of every subject. We are so much the more assured to have an orderly, lawful, and happy government, as his majesty has declared, that he will regard it as his greatest honour to be the first citizen amongst a free people; and we are hopeful that the like sentiments will be propagated in the Royal Family, from father to son, till the latest times of the world. Therefore we declare enemy to us and the country whoever shall be so imprudent and malignant a fellow-subject, as to endeavour to draw us off from this sanction by cheat and craft, secret plots or open violence, in order to intrude upon us royal despotism or sovereignty; or, under the pretence and shew of liberty, overthrow these laws, which, when they corroborate a true and useful liberty, shut the doors to licentiousness and confusion. We assure also, in virtue of our sworn fealty and this form of government, that we shall keep loyal obedience to his majesty, fulfil his orders in all that is due and warrantable before God and men, for him to command, and for us to do, all rights being safe, that belong to him and ourselves, as it becomes faithful men and subjects.

Signed and sealed in Stockholm the 21st day of August, in the year after the birth of Our Saviour 1772.

For the Nobility.

A. G. LEIONHUFWUD.

h. t. Landtmarthal.

(L. S.)

For the Clergy.

AND. H. FORSSENIUS,

Speaker.

(L. S.)

For the Burghers.

JOH. H. HOCHSCHILD,

In the place of the Speaker.

(L. S.)

For the Peasantry.

JOSEPH HANSSON,

Speaker.

(L. S.)

All

All this here above written, We ourselves not only receive as a firm fundamental law, but We ordain likewise, and enjoin all who are bound to Us and our Successors to the reign, with fidelity, allegiance, and loyalty to acknowledge, keep, and obey this form of government. For the more certainty, We have signed this with our own hand, and caused Our Royal Seal to be put hereunder, at Stockholm, the 21st day of August in the year after the birth of Our Saviour one thousand seven hundred and the seventy second.

G U S T A V U S.

N^o II.

Value of the EXPORTS and IMPORTS from and to ENGLAND
and RUSSIA, SWEDEN, and DENMARK, from
CHRISTMAS 1778 to CHRISTMAS 1782.

RUSSIA.				SWEDEN.				DENMARK.			
Value of Exports.		Value of Imports.		Value of Exports.		Value of Imports.		Value of Exports.		Value of Imports.	
£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.
1779 306,072	15 11	1,201,377	14 4	108,403	4 7	252,431	4 2	150,615	2 4	73,171	13 5
1780 161,031	10 5	1,150,429	12 11	49,678	10 5	144,180	17 1	156,085	19 5	86,731	4 4
1781 137,967	6 7	1,206,806	18 7	62,510	8 10	212,414	19 11	172,012	19 9	94,639	1 10
1782 196,577	9 10	1,185,844	14 4	56,083	2 7	163,219	7 11	164,732	2 4	73,038	9 2

N^o III.

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